ASPECTS OF VERNACULAR LANGUAGES IN ASIAN AND PACIFIC SOCIETIES

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INTRODUCTION

At the annual meeting of '73 ASPAC (Asian Studies on the Pacific Coast) organized by the University of British Columbia in Vancouver, June 14-16, 1973, I had the privilege of planning and chairing a two-session forum entitled "Aspects of Vernacular Languages in Asian and Pacific Societies". The forum was intended to attract specialists of various disciplines interested in the topic and to accommodate a large number of communications. Indeed, no less than thirteen papers were presented in the panel.

As the panel progressed extremely well and was ended to the satisfaction of all the participants, it was felt that some kind of documentation should be made for the record so that the papers presented could be read before they would be published more formally if at all. It was with this spirit in mind that all the papers sent to me for the purpose are here reproduced with the understanding that their authors will be free to submit them to journals for publication.

I wish to acknowledge my indebtedness to Dr. Walter F. Vella, Chairman of the Southeast Asian Studies Committee, and the staff of the Asian Studies Program of the University of Hawaii for their spiritual and material support, and to the authors for their willingness to have their papers compiled in this document.

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PSYCHO-SOCIOLOGICAL IMPLICATIONS OF THE JAPANESE INTERPERSONAL COMMUNICATION PATTERNS

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As a Japanese language teacher to American students, I have been concerned about the development of effective systems of communication between Japanese and Americans. In recent years, the communication problem between the United States and Japan has been a crucial issue. Last year we were acutely reminded of the miscommunication between the two nations in the following portion of the editorial appearing in the Star Bulletin, September, 1972:

> "In an article published on this page yesterday, Tad Szulc of the New York Times pointed out the translation problems that occurred at the U.S.-Japan economic meetings last week.
>
> English and Japanese translations contradicted each other at a couple of important points. Earlier, in Hawaii at the Makaha Inn meetings of U.S. and Japanese leaders, the same problem was evident.
>
> A statement by the Japanese that they understood America's situation was changed in translation to an expression of sympathy for the U.S. position, a quite important difference under the circumstances.
>
> One version of the U.S.-Japan rift over textiles is that it was heightened by a misunderstanding between Prime Minister Sato and President Nixon in their private talk last year. The President thought he received a commitment, but the Prime Minister didn't feel he had made one.
>
> The problems between America and Japan would be serious enough even if we both spoke the same language. As it turns out, the language barrier appears to be a major factor in compounding them."

When the U.S.-Japan Economic Trade meetings were held in Washington in September, 1971, the American government made a thorough analysis of the degree of understanding achieved by each party, that is, the extent to which the U.S. delegates understood what the Japanese intended to convey and vice versa. It was found that even with the utilization of capable interpreters, the U.S. delegates understood approximately 30 per cent of what the Japanese delegates meant to convey, whereas the Japanese comprehended about 35 per cent of the communication of the U.S. delegates. (Takeyama 1972:32). As obvious from this analysis, the communication problem seems to be something more than a linguistic problem.

In a very real sense, the communication problem looms larger as a cultural problem. As Edward T. Hall aptly puts it in The Silent Language, communication is culture, and culture is communication (Hall 1959:93). He has made us aware that the very way we organize our lives is part of a network of communication and that those who would function within a society or culture other than their own must learn its cultural as well as its linguistic code. Verbal communication comprises only a portion and it may perhaps be the smaller portion of the communication that goes on in any society. Therefore when we are concerned about the communication problem, we must consider the total communicative aspects which may affect the process of communication. An essential dimension is the cultural rules or silent cultural assumptions which we half-consciously or unconsciously transmit and receive, and which Francis L.K. Hsu refers to as "psycho-cultural orientation." This psychocultural orientation serves as the frame of reference with which members of one culture group relate among themselves.

My basic assumption is that cross-cultural miscommunication is not only due to linguistic problems but also due to mistaken assumptions, by both source (who is often referred to in this paper as a speaker) and receiver (who is also often referred to as a listener), about the correspondence of cultural meanings. Cultural meanings here refer specifically to the meanings of the silent cultural assumptions which are manifested in the modes of communication patterns or styles and many other areas of human activities. In other words, two people of different cultures who do not share such silent cultural assumptions will find difficulty in communicating with each other even if they may speak the same language.

The purpose of this paper is to look into the cultural assumptions which are embedded in the interpersonal communication patterns and styles. I am also interested to see how the various Japanese interpersonal communication patterns are different from those of Americans, and to focus on one aspect of psychocultural orientation, namely, self-disclosure (private self and public self) as a point of cross-cultural study of Japanese and Americans. Finally, I would like to attempt to outline a research design to quantify the differences manifested in self-disclosure based on the multiple coding interaction analysis system as a case study.

First, let us observe the influence of the psychocultural orientation on the process of communication. To do that, I would like to take up one expression "wakarimasu" (to understand) which was misunderstood by the American leaders at the U.S.-Japan economic meetings. The expression "wakarimasu" in the Japanese culture can be interpreted variously depending on the situations. The speaker may use the expression to show his sympathy with his listener's position although he does not necessarily agree with his listener's view. When this same expression is used with another common expression as frequently employed by politicians, it reads like this: "Jijoo wa yoku wakarimashita. Dekirudake zenshosuruyoo tsutomete-mimashoo," which may be roughly translated to "I fully understood the circumstances or position you are in, and I'll do my best (to do something about it)". It is likely that American listeners may take this as a kind of commitment. This kind of statement in the Japanese culture is often a polite way of saying "I cannot do it." (Takeyama 1972:32). Here at least the person acknowledges the issue involved and promises to do something about it although it is not known whether he will do it or not, and when, if ever, he will do it. Japanese ordinarily do not expect too much from the speaker when he comes out with this sort of statement. It is a kind of ritual which is important for the maintenance of harmony in human relationships.

Let us consider another expression commonly used by Japanese in conversation: "Watakushi kojin to shite wa, mattaku dookan desu," which may be translated as "I personally feel exactly the same as you do." It may also be translated to "I personally am in complete agreement with you," or to "I sympathize with you." It is likely that at least the first two translations may be taken to indicate the speaker's agreement with or commitment to the position or point of view of the receiver. This is perceived differently by Japanese. The key term in the expression is "kojin" which means "personal" or "individual." When a speaker expresses his view or feeling in the manner stated above, it implies, "I agree with you in principle, but being a member of the group, I alone cannot do anything about it." This brings up another aspect for consideration--the difference in the decision-making mechanism and process between the Japanese Prime Minister and the U.S. President. The U.S. President is given much more power in decision making than the

Japanese Prime Minister. It is therefore in this light, too, that some of the statements by the Prime Minister must be understood.

No one knows (except some of those who participated in the meetings) whether the Prime Minister actually used those expressions and terms mentioned in the editorial. What should be noted here, however, is the fact that it was recorded in the official paper from the White House sent to the Ministry of U.S. Relations that at the Summit Conference of 1969, Prime Minister Sato promised President Nixon to bring a solution to the pressing textile problem by the end of the year 1969. Takeyama (922-33) "The President thought he received a commitment, but the Prime Minister didn't feel he had made one."

Let us know focus our attention more specifically on the various aspects of the psychocultural orientation which are manifested in the different modes of communication patterns and styles.

One of the Japanese interpersonal communication patterns can be characterized as a "situation-oriented pattern," whose philosophy is based upon the idea that it is better to be harmonious than right or sincere, and to this end people will do everything to avoid appearing to oppose anyone directly.

Concerning this aspect of the "situation-oriented" communication pattern, there is one interesting study done by Keiko Ueda of International Christian University (paper: 1972). She lists as declining request patterns sixteen different ways to avoid saying "no" in the Japanese culture when requests or invitations are made by superiors. Unlike the use of "no" in the English language which is relatively simple and convenient, the use of "iie" in the Japanese language is governed significantly by cultural overtones. Although there are no linguistic rules against the use of "iie," the cultural rule is such that people seem to unconsciously avoid using it. Here, as in so many aspects of Japanese interpersonal communication, one must always think of the other person's feelings and speak to avoid hurting his feelings. This unconscious avoidance of "iie" which is determined situationally is an example of one aspect of psychocultural orientation.

Chie Nakane, a professor of Tokyo University, explains the avoidance of negative response from the standpoint of rank consciousness. The rank consciousness of Japanese people not only regulate social behavior but also the open expression of thought. (Nakane 1970:33). She says that a junior takes every care to avoid any open confrontation with his superior. The avoidance of such open and bold negative expressions like "no" or "I disagree" is rooted in the fear that it might disrupt the harmony and order of the group, that it might hurt the feelings of a superior and that, in extreme circumstances, it could involve the risk of being cast out from the group as an undesirable member. (Nakane 1970:35). Therefore, this aspect of psychocultural orientation strongly influence the process of interpersonal communication in Japanese society.

Japanese place emphasis upon the feelings or attitudes of the communicators (affective communication style), whereas Americans tend to rely heavily upon the language to convey or to get the message across (instrumental communication style). Therefore, when Americans interpret the expressions such as "wakaru," "zenshosuru," "kojin, etc." (whose cultural meanings were mentioned previously), based solely on the verbally expressed language without understanding the silent assumptions of Japanese culture, miscommunication may be likely to occur. Thus, in a "situation-oriented" communication pattern like that of the Japanese, non-linguistic elements like "feelings and attitudes" play an important role in the interpersonal communication, whereas in a "self-assertive-oriented" communication pattern like that of Americans, verbally expressed messages play an important role. The latter therefore tends to use the instrumental communication style--that is, the emphasis of communication of ideas or thoughts, and the former tends to use the affective communication style--that is, the communication of feelings.

The difference in the communication styles between Japanese and Americans stems from basically different views on "verbal language." The psychocultural orientation of Japanese people toward "verbal language" can be generalized as that of "mistrust." Hidetoshi Kato, a Japanese sociologist as well as a communication specialist, deals with this aspect of Japanese language within the framework of Japanese communication systems in his book, The World of Eyes and Ears (Kato 1962: 71-85). He presents many Japanese proverbs in which the basic attitudes and feelings toward "verbal language" are manifested. The old sayings such as "Mouth is the source of disaster," "By your mouth you will perish" and many others imply that "verbal language" is something not worthy of trust and in fact is even a dangerous thing. What is verbally expressed and what is actually intended are two different things. This is a basic principle of communication Japanese people are supposed to be aware of. If an individual forgets this basic principle, he will make a fool of himself (Kato: 76). Language was in the past not meant to be used as a means to convey a message, but rather it was ordinarily used as a means to check a receiver's move so that the source could make an appropriate next move.

Talkative people thus are not generally respected in Japanese society. We are not surprised to find that most of the great leaders or heroes in Japanese history were known as men of few words. This tendency still holds true at the present time.

The gap between what is expressed verbally and what is actually intended signifies the social role and function of "lying" in Japanese society. Since this particular act of lying has a social significance, I shall refer to it as "social lie" which is to some extent equivalent to the English "white lie." It is generally recognized as one of the important communication skills (Kato: 77). People must learn the act of lying. It requires considerable social training, though most Japanese achieve it in the process of socialization. This social lie, in one respect, can be considered as a virtue (Kato: 77).

Keiko Ueda's survey, mentioned earlier, can substantiate the function of the social lie. She found that overall, the category of lying was one of the preferred choices of declining requests (Paper 1972). Since the social lie plays an important role in interpersonal communication, let us explore it a little further. If one wants to refuse a request or invitation with no specific conventional reasons such as illness, work, etc., one may lie to make the refusal seem reasonable and acceptable. Lying is sometimes taken as truth which might, in some ways, be effective. However, in some cases people "lie" in such a way that their replies are recognized by the listener as lies. Lying, under certain circumstances, is one of the acceptable face-saving devices. For example, when a "nakōdo" (go-between) has to decline the "omiai" (initial meeting of prospective bride and bridegroom for an arranged marriage), reasons will often be given which have nothing to do with the parties involved personally in order to spare the feelings of those concerned. The "nakōdo" may say that the prospective couple should not be married because an "uranaishi" (a fortune-teller consulted when drafting plans for a new house) declared that the houses of the two families were not properly oriented to each other. Refined people are suppose to have acquired the "know-how" of social lying. Lying properly is indeed an important communication skill.

The term "sincere" in English has a markedly different interpretation from the Japanese "sincere" ("makoto" or "seijitsu") in the social context (Kunihiro 1973:143). In The Chrysanthemum and the Sword, Ruth Benedict explains that the English "sincere" expresses the meaning of telling straightforwardly what the speaker thinks without mincing his words or without worrying about how the receiver will react to his talk. This meaning conveyed by the English "sincere" can be considered similar to "fuseijitus" which actually means "insincere." It seems clear that terms like "seijitsu" should be situationally defined.

If "credibility" is one of the essential factors in promoting better communication the social function of the social lie and social meaning of "sincere" must be studied.

While the social lie has its function in the process of communication, it is nevertheless a manifestation of a basic attitude of mistrust toward the language. The basic attitude of mistrust toward the verbal language is based on the philosophy of "making oneself understood by not talking." (Kato: 96). What is implied in this basic thinking is this: If you don't understand what I am trying to say now, I don't think you will ever understand even if I continue talking; if you really can understand me, you would have understood me already; thus, it is unnecessary to talk.

This kind of intuitive understanding or psychic understanding between two individuals beyond the verbal expression is often known as "haragei" which can be literally translated as "belly art or abdominal performance." It is a tacit understanding between two individuals. "Haragei" is one of the modes of the Japanese communication style.

Prime Minister Sato, at the press conference he held in Japan just prior to his departure to the U.S. to meet with President Nixon over the textile problem, made the following comment: "Since Nixon and I have been on very good terms, at the forthcoming negotiating table over the textile problem, what I shall do is 30 per cent of verbal discussion and 70 per cent of 'haragei'; that is all that is necessary." (Nagai 1973: 149). It seems now quite understandable that the negotiation between the President and the Prime Minister resulted in miscommunication.

The concept of "Amae" forms another mode of Japanese communication style. The term "Amaeru" which is the verb form of "Amae" is defined as "to depend and presume upon another's benevolence." (Doi 1956). It is a sort of expectation that one is supposed to understand implicitly what the speaker intends to express even without much explanation, for he is a close friend or best ally. In other words, the speaker is regarding him as one of the in-group. This "Amae" mode of communication style as well as "Haragei" mode of communication style minimizes the need for verbal language.

Thus far I have been talking about the psychocultural orientation of Japanese people toward verbal language. In contrast, the American philosophy is based on the idea of "making oneself understood by talking." It is a sort of "you don't understand me unless you let me talk" type of communication. This philosophy presumes a reliance on the verbal language for mutual understanding. One asserts oneself by talking in the U.S., whereas Japanese learn to defend themselves by not talking.

Let us view the aforementioned two types of philosophy from a different perspective. The philosophy of "making oneself understood by not talking" characterizes another mode of the Japanese communication style--the total communication style. When one says in Japanese cultural context that it is no use (or no sense) to talk any further in the course of a conversation with someone, it may mean that he cannot accept the receiver's attitude, his way of thinking and feeling. What is implied is that he cannot accept the receiver in totality (Kato: 108).

What he is expecting is a kind of communication through which he can emotionally attain oneness with the total personality of the receiver, encompassing his ideas, feelings, attitudes, behavior, etc. In other words, it is a "total commmunication" that Japanese people ordinarily expect to get from the communication. Thus, this Japanese communication pattern usually leads to either "total understanding" or "no understanding at all." The step-by-step process is often omitted, and the conclusion or decision is usually reached intuitively.

On the other hand, the philosophy of "making oneself understood by talking" characterizes the mode of "partial communication style." The basic stand is that one can never understand other people in totality. It is impossible to know and accept all aspects of a person. What is possible then is the partial understanding of some aspect of the ideas, feelings and attitudes of a person through communication. The feelings and attitudes of a person are important in the American interpersonal communication but not as crucial as in the case of Japanese interpersonal communication. Should complete understanding be possible, it comes only through the sum total of or long process of partial understanding. In their mode of communication style, talk goes on despite the fact that one cannot accept the receiver's idea or feeling or attitude. Unless one talks things over with the receiver, they will never come to any agreement.

Another type of Japanese communication pattern can be characterized as an indirect-intermediated interpersonal communication pattern. It is a symbolic way of expressing one's feelings or ideas through the intermediation of a non-linguistic object or sometimes some human being. When one wishes to express one's feelings or ideas, one often does that, not face to face directly but indirectly through some objects. A young lover expresses his love to his loved one through the medium of the moon which aesthetically pulls two individuals closer. The moon serves as a middleman. Feelings are exchanged between husband and wife through the flowers arranged by the wife. Modern businessmen convey their messages with the assistance of drink or food. One indirectly approaches the person he wants to meet via the introduction by his friend.

In contrast, American interpersonal communication pattern can be characterized as a direct-face to face interpersonal communication pattern. Looking into the eyes of the person while talking is considered a sign of sincerity. Self-assertive and self-reliant-oriented U.S. encourages the direct-face to face interpersonal communication pattern.

From the standpoint of the mode of expression, the Japanese communication pattern in daily conversation can be characterized as the "prose-oriented communication style." That is to say, much of the conversation is taken up by long descriptive accounts, the narration of an attitude toward a person or an event in subjective terms.

Usually, no conclusion is made. It is left to the listener to make appropriate connections along the way and to make sense of them. Americans who listen to this kind of conversation may feel that it lacks substance or significance.

Furthermore, this style of conversation is not dialectically oriented. No data and evidence are usually given to prove the point one wants to make. The essence of pleasure in conversation for the Japanese is not in discussion (a logical game) but in emotional exchange. Nakane accounts for the lack of dialetic style of speech in the lack of discipline in relationships between equals. Thus, the Japanese do not practice the three steps of reasoning (dialectic).

What would happen when non-dialectic pattern of Japanese communication and dialectically oriented patterns of American communication interact? The following quotation beautifully illustrates this point:

> "It does not occur to us westerners to question the validity of logic--the ultimate weapon in settling a disagreement--until we meet the man from a culture where feeling is the decisive factor. I recall a conversation with a Japanese colleague at International Christian University about putting debate into the language program. He asked me why I thought debate was important, and I said that it trained young people to stand before others and to say clearly and confidently what they had to say and that it developed their ability to think logically. He paused for a moment and said, 'Yes, I can see the first to be quite helpful, but I don't see much sense in developing logic. After all, logic is nothing but a device to try to persuade the other man to think the way you do." What a sinister interpretation to put on logic, I thought." (Kleinjans 1968)

What has been discussed thus far can be stated in the form of the following questions:

What would happen to the process of communication when people of quantitatively as well as qualitatively different psychocultural orientation meet in a social situation? To be more specific, what takes place in the process of communication between the instrumental communication-oriented people and the affective communication-oriented people; the self-assertive-oriented people and the situation-oriented people; the total communication-oriented people and partial communication-oriented people; the indirect-intermediated interpersonal communication-oriented people and direct-face to face oriented people, the non-dialectic-oriented people and the dialectic oriented people?

These are some of the questions which need to be asked and to be answered if we are interested in facilitating meaningful interpersonal communication with the people of the target culture.

I have specified several different interpersonal communication patterns and styles of Japanese and Americans as above, but in fact we do not know what will be the actual consequences of interaction between the peoples of different modes of communication patterns, except to presume that some miscommunication may likely take place. We must realize that besides those factors which we have been discussing thus far there are many other variables and factors which may affect the process of cross-cultural communication. For example, although this paper did not specifically refer to the influence of "inferiority-superiority complex" upon the communication process, this psychological factor must be seriously studied within the rubic of communication. Japanese inferiority complex toward Americans, though often not recognized at their conscious level, might have contributed to the relatively smooth relationship till recently, despite the fact that each has almost contrasting communication patterns and styles. It had been a kind of master-follower relationship. In other words it had been a "one-way communication." Insofar as Japanese regard Americans as their "big brothers" communication can go on without much trouble. But since the "Nixon Shokku" (Nixon Shock),[1] the situation has changed considerably. On the other hand, the Japanese "superiority complex" toward Southeast Asians may hinder communication with them. It is obvious that such superiority complex on the part of Japanese may come in direct conflict with the "nationalism" of the Southeast Asian people.

For the first half of this paper, I have been describing the influences of silent cultural assumptions upon the communication patterns and styles at the descriptive level. For the second half of this paper, however, I would like to attempt to quantify the differences of some cultural variables which may affect the process of communication. What I am trying to do from now on, then, is to draw up a possible research design in order to see if it is feasible to measure the cultural variables emperically in the cross-cultural context.

After observing the many aspects of psychocultural orientation which may affect the process of communication, one aspect of psychocultural orientation--the mode of self-disclosure intrigued me most. For this reason, I decided to focus my preliminary research design upon the different modes of self-disclosure between Americans and Japanese.

The title of the proposed research is "A Proposed Research Study for Cross-Cultural Study of Japanese and Americans with Respect to Self-Disclosure Based on the Multiple Coding Interaction Analysis System."

FOOTNOTES

1. It refers to the announcement of Nixon's visit to China, which came as a shock to Japanese, for there was no prior consultation with the Japanese government.

2. Barnlund, Dean C. originally used this model in his lecture on "The Private Self and the Public Self Between Us and Japan," the 1972 Summer Conference on Communication Across Cultures. I.C.U., Tokyo, July 9-17, 1972.

3. Nakane, Chie, "Social Structure and Value Systems Reflected in Interpersonal Communication." This lecture was given at the 1972 Summer Conference on Communication Across Cultures: Contact and Conflict. I.C.U., Tokyo, July 9-17, 1972.

4. Multiple Coding Interaction Analysis Sytem was developed by Ned Flanders specifically for the analysis of teaching behavior. I modified the system so as to meet the needs of this study.

5. Most of the basic categorical items were taken from Altman and Taylor's thirteen topical categories. According to Hancock's paper presented at the Western Speech Communication Association meeting (Honolulu, Hawaii, November 20, 1972), Social Penetration Processes (Altman, I. and Taylor, D.), in which their thirteen categories were described, is still in press.

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SOCIOLINGUISTIC ASPECTS OF JAPANESE SPOKEN AS A VERNACULAR IN HAWAII

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I. Introduction

Beginning with the importation of 153 Japanese immigrants over one hundred years ago, approximately 200,000 Japanese migrated to Hawaii between 1868 and 1924.[1] By 1920, those immigrants and their children formed the largest single ethnic group in Hawaii and for several decades they maintained 30% to 40% of the total population of Hawaii.[2] They now constitute 28.3%, the second largest ethnic group, next to 38.8% for the Caucasians.[3]

The great majority of those immigrants were illiterate or had limited formal education. Realizing their disadvantages due to lack of education and also for some practical and cultural reasons such as needs to maintain thei identity with their homeland, to bridge communicational gap with their children, to preserve family system, they wanted to give their offsprings sound education in Japanese as well as in English.

The first Japanese language school was established in 1893. The number of Japanese language school steadily increased and reached 194 with student enrollment of 38, 515 in 1939.[4] The population of nisei, Japanese Americans born to immigrants, was 119,369 at that time.[5] Almost 100% of nisei were sent to those Japanese schools after public school hours until the W. W. II broke out. Therefore, it can be said that all the nisei over the age of 40 received Japanese language education and the language spoken at most Japanese homes was Japanese, though their proficiency in the language may vary depending on individuals. Today, Japanese is still spoken among nisei whose primary language is English.

It has been observed, however, that Japanese is spoken more frequently among some nisei than others even though their language background might be similar. The usage of Japanese also seems to be influenced by some factors such as situations, topics, speaker's and his interlocutor's social or educational background, their relationship etc. This paper intends to clarify what kind of social factors actually influence code-switching of two languages, Japanese and English by bilingual nisei.

The research is based on data collected from 100 questionnaires answered by nisei above 40 years of age with various background. This questionnaire is consisted of two parts:

Table I

I. Informant's background:
  1. age
  2. sex
  3. residential area
  4. profession
  5. education 1) English
     2) Japanese
  6. places where the informant was brought up

II. Usage of Japanese by the informant

  1. situation: 1) formal: a. business
     2) informal: a. informal contact at working place
        b. social or informal occasions
        c. streets, buses, etc.
        d. supermarkets, barber shops, etc.

2. interlocutor:	1)	formal:	a.	supervisor
			b.	person met for the first time
	2)	informal:	a.	co-worker
			b.	close friend
			c.	worker at markets, beauty shops etc. where the informant patronizes.
3. topics	1)	formal:	a.	business
	2)	informal:	a.	social affairs or problems etc.

Several nisei were interviewed to obtain some more necessary information.

As Fishman mentioned that Brooklynese switch Brooklynese and more standare New York English "when speaking to each other, depending on their feelings toward each other, the topic under discussion, where they happen to be when they are conversing and several other factors,"[6] nisei seem to switch from one to another with similar social factors.

II. Situations

The Japanese language was a sole means of communication for issei, immigrants from Japan, and as an immigrant language it was a language of lower social status in Hawaii. For nisei, however, Japanese lost its primary function as a communication medium and seems to become the ancestor's language they utilize, at times, for "purposes of intimacy and in-group solidarity."[7] One Veteran of the famed 442nd Regiment who saw combat in Italy and southern France said that speaking Japanese with other veterans would make them feel close to each other and it would usually bring back memories of incidents they shared years ago. Apparently the Japanese language had played a very important role to nisei in European theatre to unite or identify themselves among non-Japanese speaking soldiers.

This veteran, however, may speak English to the same person if they are discussing a business matter. Speaker A may speak to Speaker B in Japanese at a certain time, on a certain subject, but he may switch it to English at different time or on a different topic to the same person. It is also possible that he may mix Japanese and English in one sentence.[8] Situational factors should be a part of determining factors which cause the language switch.

Since Hawaii's official language is English, at formal situations such as official meetings or business discussion, English would be expected to be normally empolyed. On the other hand, in informal situations, e.g. friends' or relatives' get-together, wedding, funeral, parties etc., Japanese may be occasionally used.

In Table II, informants are asked whether or not they speak Japanese in specified situations.

Table II

Do you use Japanese in the following situations?	yes	no
1. official meeting held at place of employment	25 (29%)	60 (71%)
2. informal contact with other workers at place of employment	78 (92%)	7 (08%)
3. social or informal occasions	100 (100%)	0
4. public places (streets, buses etc.)	92 (93%)	7 (07%)
5. supermarkets, barber shops, beauty shops etc.	75 (88%)	10 (12%)

As is clear from Table II, it is indicative that in official situations, English is much preferred to Japanese, and informal occasions or places, Japanese is spoken more often. Only about one third of respondents state that they use Japanese sometimes at official meetings. However, if it is an informal contact with other workers great majority use Japanese occasionally. We may conclude that even at place of employment, as far as the contact with other workers is on informal basis, Japanese is spoken by over 90% of workers against the fact that English is normally spoken.

III. Interlocutors

Many respondents commented that their choice of languages, i.e. English or Japanese, would be determined by role relationship with an interlocutor. In this paper, relationship between speaker and interlocutor will be categorized into four classes: formal, less formal, informal and very informal. Table III indicates to whom nisei tend to speak in Japanese.

Table III

Question: Do you speak with following people in Japanese?

	informal occasion		public place	
	yes	no	yes	no
I. Interlocutor with formal relationship				
1. supervisor	27 (40%)	42 (60%)		

II. <u>Interlocutor with less formal relationship</u>					
1. person met for the first time	51 (54%)	43 (46%)	55 (64%)	31 (36%)
2. co-worker	59 (74%)	21 (26%)		
III. <u>Interlocutor with informal relationship</u>				
1. salesclerk of a shop you patronize	89 (89%)	11 (11%)		
2. salesclerk of a shop you don't go often	73 (76%)	23 (24%)		
3. business or social acquaintance	82 (89%)	10 (11%)	75 (88%)	10 (12%)
IV. <u>Interlocutor with very informal relationship</u>				
1. close friend	95 (98%)	1 (2%)	86 (94%)	5 (6%)

Much less than half of respondents indicated of using Japanese with their supervisor even in informal contact, though 3/4 of them would converse in Japanese to co-workers.

Japanese people in Japan are generally conscious about the relationship between the speaker and the listener in terms of their social status, e.g. age, occupational position, educational background, etc., and that consciousness is reflected in the usage of speech levels.[9] Especially, the right usage of speech levels is imperative at place of employment.[10] From this Japanese point of view, it can be assumed that nisei who are conscious about relationship between the speaker and the listener of their social status may use English which is the official language to their supervisor and those who are not, may use Japanese more often to him. However, the result of the survey indicates otherwise. Table IV shows how many nisei who speak to their supervisor are conscious about the relationship between him and the listener and how many of those who don't speak Japanese to their supervisor are conscious about that relationship.

Table IV

I. Do you speak to your supervisor in Japanese?

yes	no	total
25 (37%)	42 (63%)	67

II. Are you conscious about your listener's social status?

yes	no	total	yes	no	total
17 (68%)	8 (32%)	25	23 (58%)	17 (42%)	40

More than two third of nisei who speak with their supervisor in Japanese are conscious about the listener's social status, while those who don't speak with their supervisor are less conscious about it. It seems that this social status consciousness is not revealed in nisei's speech to the extent practiced in Japan. This might be significant as

Note: Discrepancies of numbers in Table IV-I and Table IV-II are due to the fact that some of respondents did not answer the second question.

an indication of nisei's assimilation into American culture. This should be studied with more substantial data. Further study was made in terms of the ratio of the number of Japanese employees with the total number of workers and its result was interesting. Table V shows the relationship between percentage of Japanese workers to the total working force and their choice of the languages with their supervisor.

Table V

% of Jap. workers to the total number of workers	No. of respondents who speak with their supervisor in Japanese	No. of respondents who don't speak w/ supervisor in Jap.
60% - 100%	18 (72%)	6 (16%)
30% - 60%	4 (16%)	16 (42%)
1% - 30%	3 (12%)	16 (42%)
Total	25	42

As Table V reveals, the number of Japanese workers seems to have some influence in his choice of the language when he speaks to his supervisor. In the presence of Japanese workers, he tends to speak Japanese more with his supervisor. If there are less Japanese workers, he seems to speak less in Japanese to his supervisor. These figures in Table V reveals that environmental factors have considerable influence on the choice of the language than psychological factors mentioned earlier in this particular situation. Among co-workers, conversations are carried out in Japanese more frequently probably because of 'comradeship' than with their supervisor. Majority of co-workers carry conversations in Japanese as well as in English.

As seen in Table III, the more the relationship with interlocutors is informal, the more Japanese is used in their conversation. Nisei utilize Japanese most when they talk to their close friends in informal occasions. They also use Japanese more often when topics of conversation is social matters than business matters, since their vocabulary is generally limited.

V. Correlation of Usage of Japanese with the Speaker's Background

Frequency level in nine situations were studied on each respondent. 24 were selected in terms of their high frequent usage of Japanese. Their background, e.g. age, sex, general education, Japanese language education and places they have lived was checked to find if there is any correlation with their usage of Japanese. I was not able to find any significant correlation between the said subjects, except one. Seventy percent of those who speak Japanese very often is female. In his article, "Changing Attitudes towards the Japanese Language in Hawaii," Mr. Mizuta quotes what a Japanese language teacher said about her students: "Girls speak better Japanese because they mingle with their mothers in housework and get a better home education. Boys do not spend as much time at home, and are, therefore, more Americanized through the influence of the play-groups and secular activities." This may explain why women speak Japanese more than men as the result of the survey indicates.

VI. Conclusion

Nisei in Hawaii use Japanese in informal occasions, on informal topics, with people with informal relationship. Besides the Japanese language education they had received in Hawaii, it should be mentioned that several thousand nisei were drafted into the U. S. Army forces and were sent to Japanese language schools. Upon completion of training, they were deployed throughout the Pacific warfronts. After the termination of W. W. II, many of them played a key role during the occupation period. Thus, they were exposed to Japanese and able to improve their language ability. Nisei use Japanese for their ethnic identification as well as in-group consciousness.

Notes:

1. Okahata, et al. (1964) p. 120.
2. Ibid., p. 311.
3. Population Summary for Hawaii, 1972. Statistical Report 87, Jan. 7, 1972, by Department of Planning and Economic Development, State of Hawaii.
4. Okahata, et al. (1964) p. 249.
5. Ibid., p. 316.
6. Fishman, (1972) p. 15.
7. Ibid., p. 17.
8. Higa, (1972) p. 228.
9. Tsujimura, (1967), p. 12.
10. Horikawa, (1969) p. 185.
11. Mizuta, (1938) p. 31.

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JAPANESE KINESICS

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People communicate both verbally and non-verbablly. Non-verbal communication can be either deliberate (such as beckoning to another person to come) or unconscious (such as yawning while a colleague reads a boring paper). A listener from the same cultural background as the speaker will either consciously or unconsciously understand these non-verbal signals being sent and will react accordingly--such as coming when beckoned or trying to liven up his presentation when listeners start yawning.

In the broadest sense, non-verbal communication is made up of all the ways in which people communicate information that is not contained in the meanings of the words and grammatical structures they use. These ways have been analyzed into six categories, or "non-verbal communication modalities," by Duncan:[1] kinesics behavior, paralanguage, proxemics, olfaction, skin sensitivity, and the use of artefacts. I have further subdivided Duncan's six modalities, and have especially been investigating this first modality, kinesic behavior. The appendix to this paper outlines these six divisions in greater detail.

Since I am, among other things, not only a linguist but also a Japanese language teacher, I have been concerned with teaching students how to <u>interpret</u> the non-verbal communication of the Japanese people--a much more crucial and attainable goal, I feel, than teaching students to <u>behave</u> like a Japanese. Today I would like to present a number of examples of what at least some Japanese speakers have done as they speak, and then interpret for you what they were non-verbally communicating. My emphasis now will be on just the first of Duncan's six modalities, Japanese kinesic behavior--the language of the Japanese face and body.

Various research techniques could have been used. Japanese movies or TV programs could have been observed, but their weakness as data is that professional actors have learned to use stylized, "movie gestures" which are not always the true cultural norms. Professor Helmut Morsbach of the University of Glasgow, Scotland, has used a different technique to investigate Japanese non-verbal communication: Last year in Japan he used a movie camera with an angled lens to film Japanese without their knowing it; he told me that his problem was that he could not predict when a person was going to do something worth documenting, so he would often miss what he wanted and film a lot of what he didn't want. Furthermore, with this sort of filming, people's voices can not always be recorded; yet it is often difficult to analyze the implication of non-verbal behavior unless the researcher knows the verbal behavior accompanying it.

The method I have used in my research was to focus native speakers' attention on what they were to say in a situation so that their kinesics would be produced totally unconsciously. This was done by instructing them to carry on a very brief language-teaching dialog for videotaping. They repeatedly practiced their lines on video tape until they were reacting naturally; their recorded kinesic behavior was later analyzed. They all thought that what they were <u>saying</u> was most important; I was investigating what their faces and bodies were unconsciously <u>doing</u>.

One weakness with this approach was that it was not possible to tell whether a speaker's kinesics were idiosyncratic (his alone) or something which was representative of Japanese culture as a whole. To separate these two, I have watched for similar behavior in the many Japanese I daily contact, as well as in the amateurs who appear particularly on the TV talent shows and newscasts from Japan re-telecast in Honolulu.

The following are only some of the Japanese kinesics I have observed; I will illustrate as many of these on videotape as our time allows. Some of these kinesics will be new to North Americans, some will be sufficiently similar to be immediately recognized; the more "dangerous" ones for us Westerners are those which appear to be similar to our own, but which have their own, different Japanese meanings. Since the purpose of this paper is to present Japanese kinesics, no special point will be made of contrasting Japanese ways with ours, though I have recently been working on such a contrastive presentation for student use.

Some of the behavior shown is peculiar only to men, some only to women, some to certain ages or social groups, etc. No attempt is made here to prescribe who may do these things, only to interpret what they might indicate if they are used by a Japanese. Of course, each of the isolated bits of behavior I will be pointing out is a part of a larger kinesic cluster which has to be considered in its totality in order to give proper interpretation to these bits. The same bit of behavior may occur in different kinesic clusters, and may be interpreted quite differently because of the differences in the general meaning or significance of these larger clusters.

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JAPANESE KINESICS--EXAMPLES

(Starred items are illustrated in videotaped presentation)

I. Kinesic behavior (body motions)

A. Facial expression

1. Eyelids

*-fluttering may indicate deference; acceptable behavior even for Japanese males

-open wider (no necessary forehead involvement) for questions

*-outer corners of eyes wrinkled for "true" smile

2. Eyebrows and forehead

-generally immobile

-not necessarily involved in questions, surprise, displeasure

3. Nose

-little nostril motion or nose wrinkling

4. Mouth and chin

*-little chin motion when speaking

*-unrounded vowels cause the mouth to appear to be grinning; no implications of agreement, mirth, or happiness from just the mouth expression

-mouth firmed as if biting lips when doing something difficult

*-"lead" with chin when breaking into conversation or ending a question

B. 1. Eye-to-eye contact

-in formal situations, avoided or broken quickly after contact

*-inferior may show deference by avoiding or breaking contact

*-contact held in non-formal situations

2. Eye-to-lower-face contact

-in formal situation preferred to eye-to-eye contact

*-may be a signal that a question is going to be asked

3. Eye lowering

   -one type of "bowing"

   *-downcast while eating, drinking, even when talking in formal situation

4. Eye pointing (eyebrows and forehead not necessarily involved)

   -indicates goal of suggested movement when combined with chin lifting ("let's go over there")

C. Head Movements

1. Nods

   a. Vertical

      *-type of bowing

      *-indicates attentiveness; sometimes may indicate agreement

   b. Horizontal

      *-wagging may indicate disagreement

      -left slant may indicate cogitation or reticence

   c. Combinations

      *-vertical ending with horizontal tilt for polite disagreement

2. Jerks

   a. Vertical

      -acknowledgement, paying attention

      *-end of statement or question

   b. Horizontal

3. Head pointing

   -chin lifting combined with eye pointing

   -top of head angled toward something

D. Shoulder and torso movements

1. Bowing

   *-various angles, durations, styles, each with own meaning

2. Turns

   *-angle foward from waist, head up, to intrude self politely into another's attention without initially speaking

E. Hand movements [not normally used for emphasis or explanations when speaking, except to "write" Chinese characters with fore-finger on palm of other hand]

1. Giving

   *-men: 1 or 2 hands; women: 2 hands (under object)

   *-turn book or object to face the receiver

2. Receiving

   -most formal: two hands

3. Pointing

   *-index finger for object only

   *-full hand, palm up for humans, or anything else

4. Beckoning

   *-palm down, fingers flutter towards palm

5. Greeting [none observed]

6. Rejection

   -both palms out, arms extended from body, fingers up, steady or pushing away motion

7. Farewell

   *-bow or nod

   *-palm out, fingers up, steady or sideways waggle

8. Negation or disagreement

   -palm(s) facing out, fingers up, close to body, steady, often with a bow

9. Acceptance or agreement

   -bow, hands clasped or palms together at chest as if in prayer

10. Cogitation or perplexity

*-men: scratching head or pushing up hair at back of head

11. Applause

-fingers splayed, hands not crossed

F. Postures (static)

1. Unconscious (attitude--revealing)

*-standing; hands clasped in front = tension, formality

*-shoulders rounded, back not erect = relaxation, informality

2. Prescribed

a. Sitting

*-erect, away from back of chair; if kneeling, square on legs

b. Standing

-stiff from hips down, bowing from waist

c. Walking

*-women: short stride, scuffling; may be pigeon-toed with shoulders swinging

-men: short stride, heels dragging; exaggerated masculinity has knees bent and lifted higher, feet firmly planted, and rigid shoulders

G. Pantomime (for specific words or ideas)

1. Counting

*-thumb into palm for 1, index finger over thumb for 2, etc., with all fingers over thumb for 5; little finger then raised for 6, ring finger then raised for 7, etc.

2. People

a. Self

*-index finger pointing at nose tip (or alongside nose, chin, or neck for women)

b. Girlfriend, mistress, any woman

-partially outstretched little finger, other fingers closed

c. Boss (male), ganglord, any man

-fingers closed, thumb upstretched

d. Foreigners

-stroking bridge of nose with index finger ("high nose")

e. Liar

-lick tip of index finger, rub saliva along eyebrow

f. Crazy person

-index finger rotated counter-clockwise around ear

3. Objects

a. Money

-circle with thumb and index finger (shape of coin)

H. Miscellaneous

1. Deference

-straightening clothing before meeting or answering a superior

2. Embarrassment

*-smile or laughter, face downcast (women often cover mouth with hand)

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[1] S. Duncan, "Nonverbal Communication" in Psychological Bulletin, Vol. 22 (1969), p. 118.

APPENDIX

Non-Verbal Communication Outline[2]

I. Kinesic behavior

[as developed in the main body of this paper]

II. Paralanguage

A. Voice qualities
   -breathiness for emphasis
   -women: soft, high pitched, "whining" = femininity
B. Hesitations
   -lengthening of stops and vowels for emphasis
C. Silence
   -may indicate dissent
   -lengthy pauses not awkward in conversation
D. Non-language vocalizations
   1. Laughing - restrained, quiet, mouth covered by women
   2. Crying
   3. Yawning
   4. Sneezing
   5. Cogitation -- ingressive hiss
   6. Grunting
   7. Responses to questions -- indicate acknowledgement, not affirmation

III. Proxemics (physical nearness)

A. Formal-personal (person-to-person)
   -exceeds arm's length for introductions, conversations
B. Non-formal personal
   -may touch hands, arms, shoulders, legs with hand without implying intimacy
C. Intimate
D. Public/non-personal
   -not necessary to avoid accidental physical contact
   -men clasp hands, briefcase, etc., in front of groin when standing

IV. Olfaction (interpretation of odors)

A. Natural body odors
   -disliked; fear that body odor may offend others
B. Artificial scents
   -used by both men and women
   -mint associated with external medicine

V. Skin sensitivity

A. Touch
B. Temperature
   -extremes not necessarily unpleasant

VI. Use of artefacts

A. Clothing - widespread use of uniforms; shoes off in house
B. Cosmetics - men, women, blacken grey hair
C. Ornamentation - tattoos, company emblems
D. Eating, cooking
E. Household
F. Sleeping

[2] Professor Helmut Morsbach of the University of Glasgow, Scotland, has written the valuable paper "Aspects of Non-verbal Communication in Japan" which is being submitted for publication; a number of items listed here in my points II through VI have been dealt with in more detail by him in his paper.

THE EFFECTS OF PASSIVE BILINGUALISM ON THIRD AND FOURTH GENERATION JAPANESE AMERICAN CHILDREN

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The residual knowledge of the Japanese language in Japanese American children is becoming increasingly passive with acculturation. Japanese schools in Japanese American communities, incidental learning, grandparents, and parents remain as the resources enabling some semblance of the language to survive. Although English Japanese bilingualism is limited in these children, it must be realized that another language and culture do exist for them which differentiate them from the middle class American children and necessarily affect their social psychological, and educational developments.

While several studies[1] on the language effects on educational performance and intelligence are available for the first and second generation Japanese Americans, those for the third and fourth generations[2] are very limited. This report presents the results of an exploratory study of the effect of passive bilingualism on educational performance and intelligence of third and fourth generation Japanese American children. Correlations and analyses were made to check the effects of passive bilingualism on bilingual background, achievement scores, intelligence scores, socio-economic status, parental birthplace, number of siblings, sex, and generational differences.

BACKGROUND

The selection of the sample was based on several criteria. The sample was comprised of thirty five Japanese American children who were all American born and of the same grade-age level, which was sixth grade, eleven to twelve year olds. This grade-age was chosen because of their ability to understand instructions and to perform reliably on tests. The sample had no formal training in the Japanese language. A group of seven Japanese language students was included in certain aspects of the study for additional insight into the problem of language interference. Four areas were selected in and surrounding the city of Los Angeles. The areas were selected for their divergence in distance, environments, and proximity to Japanese American cultural centers. Nine students were selected from the Los Angeles central city area, six from Gardena, eleven from Torrance (north) which is an area close to Gardena, and nine from Torrance (south) which doesn't have many Japanese American cultural establishments nor activities. The seven Japanese school students were from the Gardena Buddhist Church Japanese School.

All sixth graders in the Los Angeles City and County schools were required to take the Lorge-Thorndike Vocabulary Development Test[3] and the Comprehensive Test of Basic Skills[4] in October of 1971 which made current test scores on intelligence and achievement available for this study.

The Lorge-Thorndike Vocabulary Development Test measures abstract thinking and yields intelligence quotients ranging from 50 to 151 for grade six. An intelligence quotient score ascertains the potential and expected performance level of a particular student, 90-110 being the median range. Both verbal and non-verbal measurements are used in determining IQ scores. Some school districts will separate the two scores while others will not make the distinction. The Torrance schools supplied verbal and non-verbal scores which made additional comparisons possible.

The Comprehensive Test of Basic Skills is comprised of eight subtests: reading-vocabulary and comprehension; language-mechanics, expression, and spelling; arithmetic-computation, concepts, and application. The complete scores from the subtests were recorded in the child's cumulative card, which is a record kept for every student enrolled in the Los Angeles

Unified schools. These achievement scores are converted into grade level or stanine scores. A grade level score means that a child scoring at grade level norm would indicate a score of 6.00 if a sixth grader, 5.00 if a fifth grader and so on. A stanine score is a rating of one to nine with five being average or grade level for a student regardless of grade placement. All scores for this study were calculated into stanines for efficiency and uniformity.

PROCEDURE - TESTS

A personal background questionnaire was devised to establish grade, age, and birthplace for the selected children. Sex, parental birthplace, number and position of siblings, residential areas (zip-code), and father's occupation provided data for correlational studies based on these variables. The questions, "Do your grandparents usually speak English to you?" and "Do your grandparents usually speak Japanese to you?" were to determine the source of passive bilingualism and determine the generational factor. It was assumed that grandparents speaking entirely in Japanese or a mixture of English and Japanese to the children would be first generation Japanese and those speaking entirely in English would be second generation grandparents.

The United States Postal Service zip-code allowed an area analysis to be made to determine the type of environment for each group based on the 1970 Census data[5]. This analysis furnished information on the size of households and whether headed by a man or woman, property value, median rents, type of houses, length of residence, ethnic make-up and population trend of each of the four areas selected, which were central city (CC), Gardena (G), Torrance (north) (T1), and Torrance (south) (T2). A socio-economic rating according to the father's occupation, was given to each group based on the 1960 United States Census Sociometric Status Scale, based on the average of education and income for males. This provided an analysis of socio-economic influences on the various data.

The bilingual background of the participating students was measured by the Hoffman Bilingual Schedule[6]. This questionnaire gives an indication of the different influences in the home and home environment affecting both languages. The reasons for the selection of this questionnaire were its inclusion of various bilingual situations, nonspecificity to particular languages, applicability to the age and grade level of the sample, and objectivity of the required responses. In Hoffman's percentile rank a score of 15.00 signified a median amount of bilingual background, a score below 9.00

indicated a low degree of bilingual background and a score above 21.00 indicated a high degree. Hoffman stated that his experimental group was fairly representative of the general distribution of bilingual background and that sample could be compared to the percentile ranking to provide some perspective to a "norm". The validity of this assertion may be questioned since this is not a standardized test. The results were used for internal comparisons and do not have a general validity. Table 1 will show the outcome of bilingual background scores of the selected sample for this study.

TABLE 1

Bilingual Background Scores
(Based on the Hoffman Bilingual Schedule)

	CC	G	T1	T2	JS
	1	3	1	3	10
	2	6	1	3	10
	3	7	2	3	16
	5	7	3	4	19
	5	8	4	5	23
	8	11	5	11	29
	12		5	12	32
	16		5	15	
	16		7	21	
			13		
			15		
Mean	7.6	7.0	5.45	13.33	18.57

The bilingual background scores exhibited a knowledge of more than passive Japanese for some of the sample. Group T2 scored a mean of 13.33 which is in the forty to fifty percentile of Hoffman's sample. CC with a mean of 7.6, G with a 7.0, and T1 with a mean of 5.45 all placed on the ten to twenty percentile rank. Understandably the JS sample exhibited the highest bilingual score. The mean of 18.57

would measure sixty to seventy in Hoffman's percentile rank which is an indication of active bilingualism. The overall average of bilingual background for the main sample was 7.0.

A Japanese vocabulary test was devised by the investigator in order to measure the amount of passive bilingualism in the language capacity of the selected children. Passive bilingualism refers to the ability to be familiar with and/or to understand certain words and phrases aurally without being able to use it orally as a communicative code, as opposed to active bilingualism which refers to the ability to understand and speak the second language with some fluency. The selections of high frequency vocabulary items were determined by the investigator through the study of the language and consultations with various Japanese language authorities at the University of Southern California. All the items were associated with the home environment. The vocabulary words and phrases were given orally and the answers were selected from multiple choices in English. The test score was calculated from zero to sixty five, based on the number of correct responses. Since this test was of tentative value and not an absolute, the scoring based on the number of correct responses seemed appropriate. Table 2 will show the response of the selected sample.

TABLE 2

Japanese Vocabulary Test Scores
(Based on a perfect score of 65)

	CC	G	T1	T2	JS
	7	16	6	8	52
	12	21	6	15	57
	13	32	13	16	58
	13	33	13	18	59
	21	41	14	19	59
	21	45	14	24	63
	26		15	37	64
	42		15	47	
	45		17	52	
			29		
			43		
Mean	22.22	31.33	19.26	26.22	58.85

The overall average for the main sample (excluding Japanese School) was 22.8 out of a possible 65.0.

Familiarity progression of the Japanese vocabulary showed words used in the immediate home environment to be highest in the number of positive responses.

TABLE 3

Japanese Vocabulary Results
Order of Decreasing Identification
(based on a maximum recognition score of 35)

High	no.	Medium	no.	Low	no.
shoyu	33	mizu/nomu	14	mikan	6
kimono	33	yamenasai	13	ushiro	6
ohashi	33	iku	12	ginkoo	6
yakamashii	32	kaban	12	sanji	6
itai	32	hasami	12	hashiru	6
atsui	31	watakushi	12	kutsu	5
gohan	30	hanasu	12	shikakui	5
samurai	29	denwa	11	tanjoobi	5
obaasan	28	soto/asobu	11	atarashii	4
abunai	28	amai	11	shizuka	4
konnichiwa	27	tegami	11	eiga	4
sensei	26	ie/yane	11	nihongo	4
osoi/hayai	22	neko	11	doobutsu	4
kawaii	21	tomodachi	20	isha	3
namae	19	wakaru	9	chairo	3
taberu	18	ittemairimasu	9	bimboo	2
gochisoosama	18			mado	2
ookii	18	dooitashimashite	9	shikkari	2
oyasuminasai	17	tokei	9	murasaki	2
inu	15	tasukeru	9	yuumei	1
gakkoo	15	shimbun	8	daigaku	1
		shiroi	8	yasashii	0
		zasshi/yomu	8	shiken	0
		muzukashii	7		
		tadaima	7		
		benkyoo	7		
		sumu	7		

The total number of Japanese words used was eighty-four, out of which only two failed to be recognized at all. High, medium, and low refer to familiarity levels. The number is the total of correct responses out of a possible thirty-five, the number of the main sample.

Results indicated that all subjects had some knowledge of Japanese. The means show that all the areas are quite close with the least being T1 with the mean of 19.26 and the highest being G with 31.33, a difference of 12.07. The similarity between the main sample is noticed when compared with the results of the JS sample with the mean of 58.85. The high number of correct responses by the Japanese school sample and the fairly high level of familiarity by the main sample indicates the elementary level of this test.

RESULTS

Figure 1 was plotted in order to locate any correlations between Japanese vocabulary and IQ. Since the studies on the second generation Japanese American children indicated that their bilingualism affected IQ, an investigation was made to locate any correlation between IQ and the passive bilingualism of third and fourth generation Japanese American children. The dashed lines on figure 1 encloses all the data points which are believed to be significant. The downward slant of the upper and lower boundaries with increasing Japanese vocabulary indicates what is believed to be the trend of the correlation.

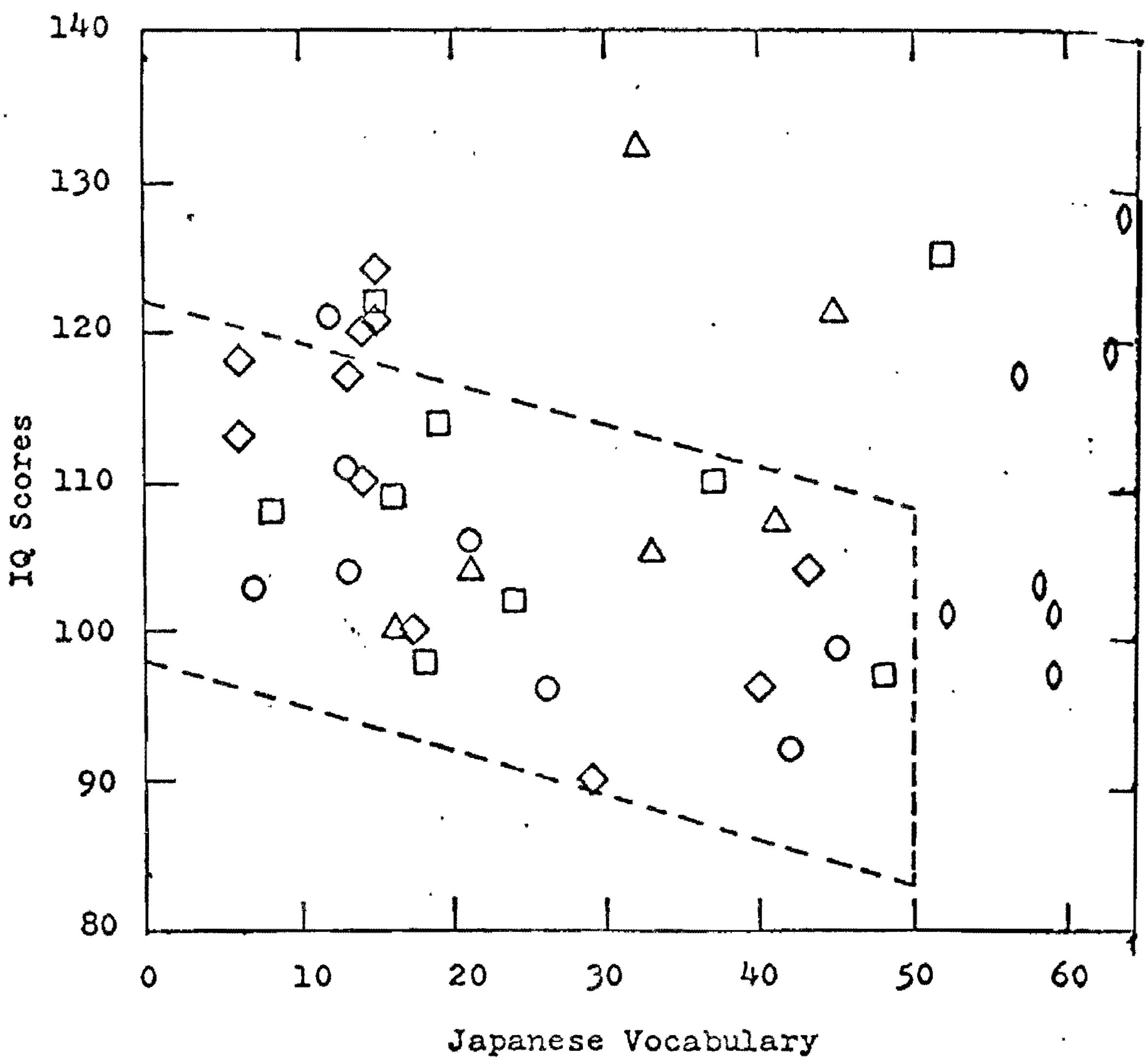
Figure 1

Correlation Between Japanese
Vocabulary and IQ Scores

◇ Torrance 1 (T1) □ Torrance 2 (T2)

△ Gardena (G) ○ Central City (CC)

0 Japanese School (JS)



Those with a higher Japanese vocabulary tended to score lower on IQ tests; therefore, a definite negative correlation was observable. The trend also exhibited a possibility of language interference on IQ tests, which would question the validity of IQ tests for these children. Another observation can be made that if the residual Japanese knowledge is taken as a measure of exposure of Japanese children to Japanese American mores and group influences, there is an overall drop of IQ with increased exposure to Japanese American group mores. Those with IQ scores above 120 were disregarded because of the tendency of high IQ bilinguals to be unaffected by language handicaps[8]. The JS group command of Japanese prevented a good measure of their active vocabulary by the present test. In each of these cases, passive bilingual measurement do not seem to be applicable and would only disrupt the existing pattern.

Correlations between Japanese vocabulary knowledge and intelligence scores showed that the overall IQ dropped with the higher vocabulary scores, with no differentiation between verbal and non-verbal IQ scores[9]. Therefore, whatever the cause of the high Japanese vocabulary scores the non-verbal suffers as much as the verbal.

Figure 2 shows the results from the Hoffman Bilingual Schedule which indicated some presence of a bilingual background for all those tested. This did not always coincide with the performance on the Japanese Vocabulary Test, which was devised solely for locating passive bilingualism. It was interesting to find that although a high bilingual background score usually meant a high Japanese vocabulary score, the opposite conclusion that a low bilingual score would indicate a low vocabulary was not always true. The subjects testing low on bilingual background often scored high on Japanese vocabulary which is partly explained by the aural recall ability of higher IQ children.

The Hoffman Schedule was useful in measuring background of Japanese American children, but the scores were too low to warrant any quantitative correlations with the various aspects of bilingualism. The Hoffman Test focuses on active bilingualism, while the subjects for this study, on the whole, possess only a limited passive vocabulary of the Japanese language.

When Japanese vocabulary was compared to socio-economic ratings, no trend was noticeable which indicated that the knowledge of Japanese had nothing to do with socio-economic status.

Figure 2

Correlation Between Japanese Vocabulary and Bilingual Background

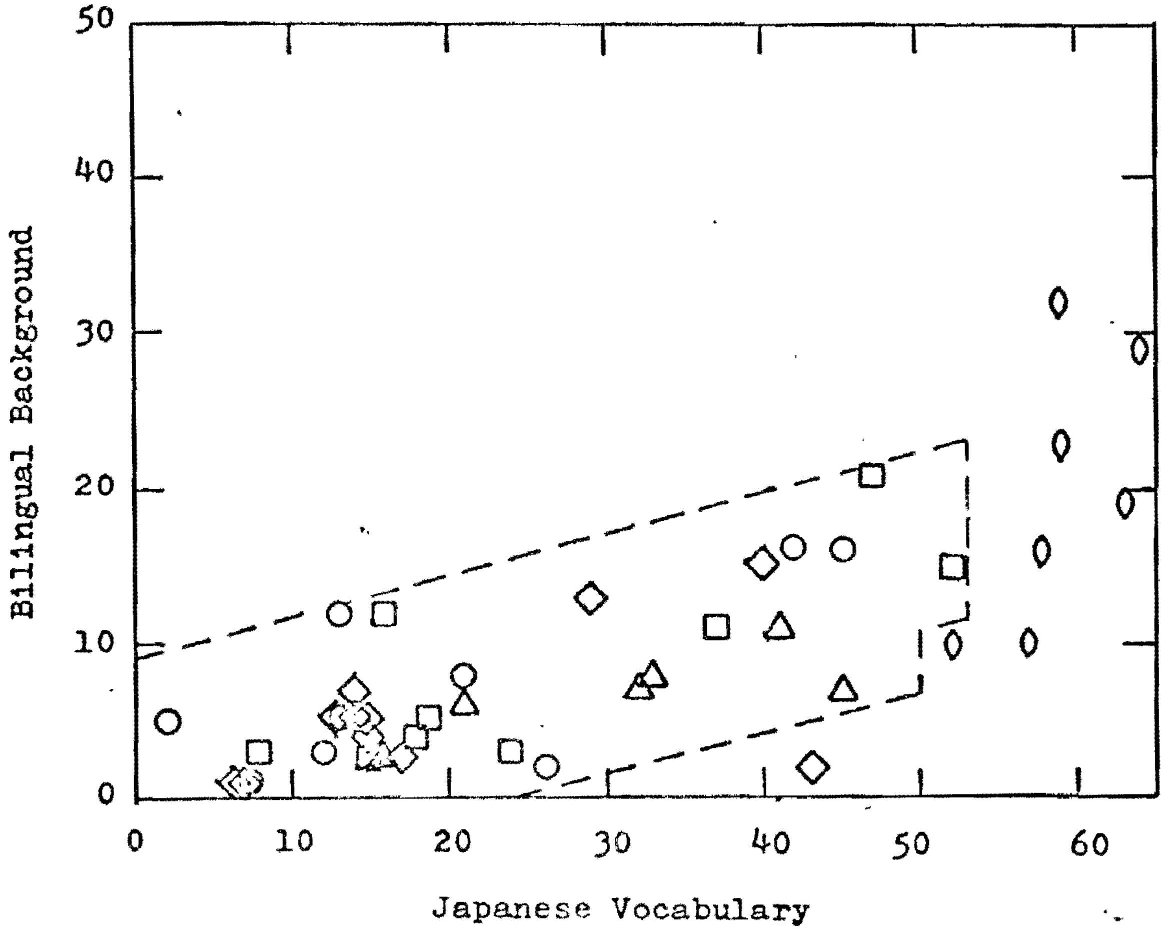
◇ Torrance 1 (T1)

□ Torrance 2 (T2)

△ Gardena (G)

○ Central City (CC)

0 Japanese School (JS)



The mean scores on Table 4 will show that there was no indication of Japanese vocabulary affecting achievement scores. IQ scores are not always determiners of educational performance as far as these children are concerned. Therefore, neither IQ scores nor amount of Japanese vocabulary knowledge affected their achievement. Those with high scores worked at their potential and those with lower scores tended to work above their potential.

TABLE 4

Mean Test Scores

Items	CC Mean	G Mean	T1 Mean	T2 Mean	JS Mean
Bilingual background	7.6	7.0	5.4	13.3	18.6
Japanese vocabulary	22.2	31.3	19.3	19.3	58.8
Verbal IQ			103	109	
Non-Verbal IQ			116	110	
Overall IQ	103	112	110	109	109
Reading	5.1	5.7	5.4	5.4	5.0
Language	5.4	5.8	5.5	5.4	6.0
Spelling	5.7	5.7	5.9	5.8	7.0
Arithmetic	5.6	6.0	6.1	5.3	5.4

The area analysis shows a distinct difference in socio-economic levels between central city and Gardena/Torrance areas in income level and occupational status. IQ scores are lower in the central city area which coincides with the results of the State Board of Education which indicated a lower state ranking for the central city area than for Torrance. Overall averages show that the Japanese American children are performing on and slightly above grade level. In the achievement scores there were no differences between the central city and Torrance which support the fact that Japanese American students do well regardless of area or potential as pointed out by Brinkley-Rogers[10] and Ono.[11] Again the achievement levels of both groups were equal so as to negate any relationships between socio-economic status and performance.

Results showed that the children with one Japan born parent had the highest Japanese vocabulary mean of all other groups. This is due to the increased opportunity for Japanese language contact in the home. The effect of this can be seen in the group with some Japanese school exposure (JS group) which had either one Japan born parent or both parents Japan born scoring Japanese vocabulary means of 57.50 and 60.33 out of a possible 65.00, respectively. Of course a factor here would also be the length of formal training in the Japanese language. It is interesting to realize the influence of parental birthplace on passive bilingualism as offered by this correlation.

Results indicated that children with no siblings and both older and younger siblings scored higher on Japanese vocabulary. Perhaps the reason for the former group is due to increased opportunity for conversations and contact with adults; for the latter it may be due to individual differences in recall abilities or home exposure to the Japanese language. A generalization is impossible when a small group is studied because individual differences tend to disrupt any trends.

Results indicated all correlational differences insignificant except for Japanese vocabulary on which the girls showed a mean of 28.90 as compared to the boys' mean of 16.35. Girls of this age seem to be much more independent and competitive than the boys, who are peer group oriented. Somehow the Japanese language seemed more accepted by the girls than the boys in differences of attitudes. Also girls tend to indulge in conversation with parents and other adults more than boys, which increases the opportunities for Japanese language contact. Also if their mothers speak Japanese, girls will have more of a tendency to follow the example in play situations than boys.

Results showed significant differences of bilingual background and Japanese vocabulary between children with Issei grandparents and those with Nisei grandparents. Similar to the influence of parental birthplace, grandparents' language also exhibited strong influence on Japanese vocabulary recognition of the subjects. The bilingual background score was similarly affected. Therefore, parental birthplace and grandparents show corresponding differences in both bilingual background and Japanese vocabulary which prove the positive influence of these two factors on active as well as passive bilingualism.

CONCLUSIONS

The amount of residual bilingualism of the sample in this study proved to be extremely limited as indicated by the average score of 22.8 out of 65.0 on the Japanese vocabulary test.

An interesting finding supplied by the data gathered indicated that Japanese vocabulary was definitely correlated with IQ. There is a relative independence of the ratio of verbal/non-verbal IQ scores while the overall IQ drops with higher Japanese vocabulary scores. This means that whatever is influencing the IQ does not differentiate between verbal and non-verbal IQ scores. This trend may also have been caused by language handicap for those who measured high on passive bilingualism; but the trend does show those with higher Japanese vocabulary, lower in IQ which may be explained by language interference. A study with a larger sample of those with high Japanese vocabulary scores is needed for additional insight into this trend.

When the Japanese vocabulary score and bilingual background was compared, a positive correlation was observable. However, there were enough incidences of those with low bilingual background scores scoring high on Japanese vocabulary which indicate a non-correlation between active bilingual measurement and amount of recognition of Japanese vocabulary.

There was no correlation between Japanese vocabulary and achievement scores. This correlates with the previous finding that IQ did not hinder performance on achievement tests. Therefore, since IQ did not affect educational performance, neither did passive bilingualism. This emphasizes that IQ does not always adequately diagnose the performance levels of Japanese American children. Perhaps, tests are not accurately measuring potentials of these particular children.

FOOTNOTES

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9 Arlene Hori Kushida, "The Effects of Passive Bilingualism of Third and Fourth Generation Japanese-American Children on Educational Performance and Verbality," (unpublished Master's Thesis, University of Southern California,1972).

10 Paul Brinkley-Rogers, Rafu Shimpo, March 16 to April 1, 1972.

11 Op. Cit., Keiko Ono.

SOCIOLINGUISTIC MOVEMENTS OF KOREANIZATION THROUGH MODIFICATION OF CHINESE CHARACTERS

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I. Introduction

Although it can be said that Koreans take pride in a great many things that are within the scope of their cultural tradition, it must be said that one of the most important of these is the Koreanization movements which took place before the invention of the Korean alphabet, Hangeul[1], during the reign of King Sejong in the fifteenth century.

We have to look into this significant aspect of sociolinguistic movement--that is to say Koreanization movement through modification of Chinese characters. In the course of these linguistic movements, Koreans demonstrated themselves that they have a great ingenuity of modifying Chinese characters in order to serve their need for communication. Their modifications were carried out not only in the structural innovation of the language but also in the semantic implementation for the language. There were many stages of development which took place in modifying the Chinese characters into better serving code for communication in the Korean society. I would like to discuss some of the important steps of Koreanization processes in the sociolinguistic context.

II. Peculiar Bilingualism in Early Korea

For about 4,000 years, that is, from the time of Tankun who, as legend tells us, became the first king of Korea in 2333 B.C., until the fifteenth century there was very little record about the language that was spoken on the Korean peninsula.

However, we do know that during this time that Korea was exposed to the wealth of the Chinese culture, and that Koreans had no alternative but to learn about the Chinese culture and adapt it to their own use. At this time the Chinese writing system was introduced to the Koreans as a means of communication and as such became a symbol of high learning in Korean society. Since there was obviously no way to compete with the Chinese cultural tradition without copying it, the leaders, the upper classes in Korean society, came to be completely reliant on both the manner of Chinese thinking and on Chinese thought itself. Any Korean who wished to be respected as a civilized man had to have complete knowledge of Chinese culture. It was a common practice during this long period for Koreans to concentrate their energies on the mastery of the Chinese classics through the memorization of most of the texts in order to pass what can be thought of as the Civil Service Examination of those days. In the realms of philosophy, ethics, literature, art, religion, etc., Koreans simply copied the Chinese tradition as if it were their own cultural heritage.

With regard to the languages that were spoken on the Korean peninsula during this period of four thousand years, there were peculiar stages of bilingualism in the different levels of the Korean society. In other words, there were periods of two different language systems--Korean spoken form and Chinese written form--were co-existed in the Land of Morning Calm. It was quite strange how these two different language systems existed side by side. The answer of this question may be a peculiar linguistic compromise for practical purpose. The Korean spoken form was used for daily conversation and the Chinese written form was used for documentation. It can be comparable to "Latin" in the Western world in the Middle Ages.

III. Korean Innovation for Written Communication

A. Koreanization Movements for Structural Modification

The use of the Chinese ideographs for written communication was a great problem for the masses of people in Korea simply because the Chinese ideographic writing then in use was not in fact a written form of the Korean vernacular--this problem, of course, was one that was over and above the normal problems encountered when one has to learn a writing system which is not simply a phonetic based description of a particular language. It took approximately two thousand years for the Koreans to eliminate this particular problem by changing from the peculiar type of bilingualism which confronted them in which they were forced to use Chinese--this includes both the Chinese ideographs as well as Chinese syntax--for written communication, while oral communication continued to be carried out in the Korean vernacular.

The amelioration of this situation took place around 1443 A.D. in Yi Dynasty with the invention of the Korean alphabet which called Hangeul. Before the invention of the Korean alphabet there were several attempts of Koreanization or linguistic compromise in which the Chinese written language was modified to bring it more in line with the Korean vernacular.

There were two major Koreanization movements: (1) for structural modification and (2) for semantic modification. Due to an incompatibility of Korean spoken form and Chinese written form, Koreans had to work out their linguistic problems by attempting various efforts which were consisted of a series of modifications and, finally, inventing a new Korean alphabet in fifteenth century.

1. Structural Adaption of Korean Word Order

The first modification of the Koreanization movement was an application of Korean word order which was shown in Suki[2]. In this modification of writing system, the Chinese ideograph continued to be used. The essential difference between Suki and the old style was that in Suki the Chinese ideographs were placed in an order which reflected that of the Korean vernacular and not that of Chinese. Evidence of this linguistic movement was found on the Imshin Suki Stone Monument[3] which was excavated in 1940. One of the examples of Suki modification is as follows:

/Imshin yuk wol sipyuk il i in byung su ki chun jun su/[4]

An explanation is given below in order to show the early stage of Koreanization movement using Chinese characters.

Explanatory Examples of Early Koreanization:

Structural Adaptation of Korean Word Order

Full Chinese Character in Sino-Korean Reading	Full Chinese Character in Sino-Korean Reading
Imshin	nyun
Carries Full Chinese Meaning	Carries Full Chinese Meaning
Imshin (name of year)	year

Full Chinese Character
in Sino-Korean Reading

yuk

Carries Full Chinese Meaning

six

Full Chinese Character
in Sino-Korean Reading

wol

Carries Full Chinese Meaning

month

Full Chinese Character
in Sino-Korean Reading

sipyuk

Carries Full Chinese Meaning

sixteen

Full Chinese Character
in Sino-Korean Reading

il

Carries Full Chinese Meaning

day

Full Chinese Character
in Sino-Korean Reading

i

Carries Full Chinese Meaning

two

Full Chinese Character
in Sino-Korean Reading

in

Carries Full Chinese Meaning

person(s)

Full Chinese Character
in Sino-Korean Reading

byung

Carries Full Chinese Meaning

together

Full Chinese Character
in Sino-Korean Reading

su

Carries Full Chinese Meaning

oath

Full Chinese Character
in Sino-Korean Reading

ki

Carries Full Chinese Meaning

write

Full Chinese Character
in Sino-Korean Reading

chun

Carries Full Chinese Meaning

heaven

Full Chinese Character in Sino-Korean Reading	Full Chinese Character in Sino-Korean Reading
jun	su
Carries Full Chinese Meaning	Carries Full Chinese Meaning
before	oath

Translation: On June sixteenth in the year of Imshin, two persons took an oath together and wrote it down (for record). Their oath was made in front of God which is Heaven.

2. Structural Koreanization of Suffix Addition

i) Koreanization of Chinese suffix Addition

A second modification that was made on the writing system was an application of Korean suffix using Chinese characters which was found in the use of Idu[5]. Here again the writing system was brought closer to the Korean vernacular. What Idu actually did was to add Korean suffixes to particular words in the writing. Chinese ideographs were chosen for their proximity to the actual Korean suffix sounds and attached to those words which would normally have a suffix in the Korean vernacular. The motivation for this particular linguistic modification arose from the fact that while Korean was a highly inflected language, Chinese was not, and such a modification as this was one of the few actual options that Korean reformers actually had opened to them. This modification brought the written language symbolically closer to the Korean vernacular. This stage of Koreanization movements were found in both Idu modification and To[6] modification. Some of the examples are given as follows:

1) / ja i /

2) / yu kwan jik hakətɨn /[7]

3) / ɨn /

4) / haya /

5) / ənɨl /[8]

An explanation is given to show the intermediate stage of Koreanization using Chinese characters.

Explanatory Examples of Suffix Addition:

Koreanization of Chinese Suffix Addition

Example 1.

Full Chinese Character in Sino-Korean Reading	Full Chinese Character in Sino-Korean Reading
ja	i
Carries Full Chinese Meaning	Does Not Carry Chinese Meaning, But Serves Only for Korean Sound Value
person (scholar)	subject marker

Example 2.

Full Chinese Character in Sino-Korean Reading	Full Chinese Character in Sino-Korean Reading
yu	kwan
Carries Full Chinese Meaning	Carries Full Chinese Meaning
have	government

Full Chinese Character in Sino-Korean Reading	Full Chinese Character in Sino-Korean Reading
jik	wi
Carries Full Chinese Meaning	Does Not Carry Full Chinese Meaning but Reading is Replaced by Korean way
	ha
office	do

Translation: / haya / means ' due to the fact of ...'

Example 5.

Full Chinese Character in Sino-Korean Reading	Full Chinese Character in Sino-Korean Reading
ə	ɨl
Does Not Carry any Chinese Meaning but Serves only Korean Sound Value	Does Not Carry any Chinese Meaning but Serves only Korean Sound Value
ə	ɨl

Translation: / əɨl / is represented the Korean sound / ənɨl / where / -n- / is inserted. In other word the Korean utterance of / ənɨl / is symbolically represented in Chinese characters. Meaning is 'since, because of.'

ii) Koreanization of Simplified Chinese Suffix Addition

A third step of Koreanization movement using simplified Chinese characters can be observed in the use of To in later development. To was just a simplified Chinese ideograph which was used for representing the suffixes. This was in a sense of a further modification of Idu later years. The use of To also brought about a more systematic effort in the use of suffixes in the writing system. is used as an abbriviation of which had the phonetic value of / ɨn / mentioned above.[9] Similar simplification of the Chinese characters is also found in Tatakana writing system of the Japanese language.

iii) Koreanization of Korean Suffix Addition

After suffering under the weight of the Chinese ideographic character for several hundred years, the Koreans finally reached a stage that they were able to replace their suffixes by the Korean alphabet rather than the Chinese counterparts. King Sejong and his scholars at the Royal Institute of Humanistic Studies, at last exhibited their linguistic ingenuity by reaching their own national script. The writing system which they created has demonstrated its utility and its relative simplicity in the description of the Korean sounds.

We should mention the major linguistic differences between the Korean and Chinese languages. Chinese is a monosyllabic and isolated language, while Korean is both polysyllabic and agglutinative. This would seem to indicate that the Chinese ideograph is not the most efficient way of representing the Korean language. Further evidence to this effect was that Korean is a highly inflected language abounding in the use of particular suffixes, while Chinese is a relatively uninflected one.

Although the Korean language has been greatly influenced by the Chinese language particularly in terms of lexical borrowings which were a direct result of the use of the Chinese writing system in the literary essays produced by the Korean "Mandarin classes," Korean is not directly related to the Chinese language. Korean has been linked to the Altaic family of languages by some scholars, while others have found links with the Dravidian languages of South India. Thus, it would seem evident that there is sufficient distance between both languages to maintain that the writing system used by one would not necessarily be the one most appropriate for the other. In any case, although the above factors may not have been known to the language planners of the fifteenth century in Korea, it was apparent to them that the Chinese writing system was not one that was suitable for Korean needs. Therefore Koreans replaced their suffixes by their own national alphabet as follows:

Full Chinese Character in Sino-Korean Reading		Full Korean Alphabet in Korean Reading
/ wi kə tɨng /	⟹	/ ha kə tɨn /
(Written in Chinese Character)		(Written in Korean Alphabet)

B. Korean Semantic Modification Through Chinese Characters

Final and not the least Koreanization movement was quite similar to Idu in that it used to same Chinese ideographs to represent both Korean stem words and suffixes. This linguistic development was known as Hyangchal.[10] The essential difference between Hyangchal and Idu is that the ideographs that were used in Hyangchal had taken on the precise semantic content and constraints that were inherent to their meanings in Korean. In Idu, however, the ideographs maintained their Chinese semantic content. In Hyangchal Chinese ideographs were also used to transcribe particular Korean sounds. The ideographs were chosen for their equivalent sound values in both Chinese and Korean. The Kumsukmoon Monument writings[11] done during the Silla Dynasty provides innumerable examples of the use Chinese ideographs for the transcription of Korean place and personal names.

The first reference that is made Hyangchal can be found in the Kyungyojun Poetry Book which was written about 1075 A.D. Examples of Hyangchal itself can be seen in the poems contained in this book. This type of poetry written in Hyangchal is known as Hyangka. Much of Korea's finest literature has been written in Hyangchal. Some of the examples are as follows:

Examples of Semantic Koreanization

Example 1.

Full Chinese Characters
in Sino-Korean Reading

Tong kyung myung ki wol rang

Korean Semantic Reading in Old Form

⟹ / syo pul pal ki ta ræ /

Translated into Present-day Korean

⟹ / səul tal palkɨn pam e /[12]

Detailed explanation is given as below.

Full Chinese Character
in Sino-Korean Reading

Tong kyung

Korean Semantic Reading
(Chinese meaning is Eastern
Capital, but it serves
the Capital.)

səul

capital

Full Chinese Character
in Sino-Korean Reading

myung

Carries Full Chinese Meaning,
but replaced by Korean Reading

pal

bright

Full Chinese Character
in Sino-Korean Reading

ki

Does Not Carry any Chinese
Meaning, but Serves only
Korean Sound Value

ki

-ness

Full Chinese Character
in Sino-Korean Reading

wol

Carries Full Chinese Meaning,
but Replaced by Korean Reading

tal

moon

Full Chinese Character
in Sino-Korean Reading

rang

Does Not Carry any Chinese
Meaning at all, but Represent
Korean Semantic Reading

(Old Form)

æ

(Present-day Form)

e

under

Translation: In the capital (of a country or Korea), one evening when the moon was so bright, ...

Example 2.

Full Chinese Character
in Sino-Korean Reading

Ya ip i yu hyang yə ka

Korean Semantic Reading in Old Form

⟹ / pam tɨ ri no ni ta ka /

Translated into Present-day Korean

⟹ / pam nɨt-to rok no nil ta ka /[13]

Detailed explanation is given as below.

Full Chinese Character
in Sino-Korean Reading

ya

Carries Full Chinese Meaning,
but Replaced by Korean Reading

pam

night; evening

Full Chinese Character
in Sino-Korean Reading

ip

Carries Partial Chinese
Meaning but replaced by
Korean Reading

tul

deepen

Full Chinese Character in Sino-Korean Reading i Does Not Carry any Chinese Meaning, but Serves only Korean Sound Value i subject marker	Full Chinese Character in Sino-Korean Reading yu Carries Full Chinese Meaning but replaced by Korean Reading nol play
Full Chinese Character in Sino-Korean Reading hæng Carries Full Chinese Meaning, but Replaced by Korean Reading tani walk; walking	Full Chinese Character in Sino-Korean Reading yə Does Not Carry any Chinese Meaning but Represent Korean Semantic Meaning ta around
Full Chinese Character in Sino-Korean Reading ka Does Not Carry any Chinese Meaning, but Serves only Korean Sound Value ka until	Translation: Until the night is deepen, I have enjoyed myself wondering around.

IV. Conclusion

Although, as we have seen, both structural and semantic Koreanization movements, Koreans have marked a move towards their capability to solve their linguistic problems under a socio-cultural diversity during a long history of Korea. We are very sure that these changes were shown definitely by the gradual unfolding of the Korean national identity--an identity which felt less and less restricted by the Chinese written tradition. Of course, I am not saying the Koreans were turning away from the influence of the Chinese thought, rather at the start of the Renaissance there was a drift away from the use of Latin in favor of the vernaculars.

FOOTNOTES

1. Hangeul is a modern name, first used in 1910 A. D. by CHU Si-Kyung (1876 - 1914), one of the most outstanding scholars of Korean linguistics. It has the meanings of "correct language" or "great language."

2. KIM Min-Soo, New History of the Korean Language, Ilchokak, Seoul, Korea, 1964, pp. 17 - 18.

3. Loc. cit.

4. Ibid.

5. KIM Yoon-Kyung, Linguistic History of Korean Script, Chinhak Publishing Co., Seoul, Korea, 1938, pp. 57- 67. Idu is a kind of writing system based on Chinese characters representing Korean vernacular. There are two major readings of Idu: (1) Sino-Korean authentic reading of the Chinese characters and (2) substituted reading for the Korean vernacular. Cf. KIM Hyung-Ku, Studies of Korean Linguistic History, Ilchokak, Seoul, Korea, 1969, pp. 264-368.

6. KIM Yoon-Kyung, ibid., pp. 68 - 78. To is a supplementary suffix added to the Chinese text which is designed for the Korean readers to read the Chinese more easily and more intimate to the Korean vernacular.

7. HUH Oong and PARK Chi-Hong, Dictionary of Korean Linguistics and Literature, Ilchisa, Seoul, Korea, 1971, p. 214.

8. KIM Min-Soo, op. cit., p. 21.

9. Ibid.

10. PARK Byung Chae, History of Korean Script Development, The Cultural History of Korea Series, Vol. V., pp. 419-440. The discussion as to whether Idu and Hyangchal different ones, has not been settled yet. Two different names may be given to the linguistically similar phenomenon.

11. Ibid., p. 427.

12. Ibid., p. 428.

INCONGRUOUS LINGUISTIC ELEMENTS IN SOUTH ASIAN LITERATURES

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In the course of even a brief excursion into the prose fiction of a contemporary Indian vernacular, the student of literature may soon encounter a mysterious stranger--an incongruous word, or a phrase, or perhaps an entire sentence, in a language other than the base language of the text. Should he demand of the intruder, "What are you doing here?", the answer can be misleading. There are probably innumerable famous writers in the West, and especially in America, who can control only one language--their own mother tongue. The linguistic limitations of Americans have been famous, and embarrassing, for many years. In India, however, it is unusual to find an author who knows only one language, "Realism," therefore, will be the first answer to our challenge to the mysterious intruder, "That's the way educated people talk in modern India; they mix their languages."

As an explanation for the juxtaposition of elements from different languages in the creative writing of contemporary India, however, the explanation will not do. The present paper examines a number of examples of the careful and deliberate manipulation of linguistic elements in the interest of well-considered and often very complex literary purposes. The discussion moves from the light-hearted, casual verbal games in Yashpāl's social criticism short stories in Hindi, to more serious examples, with a brief glance at the consequences of ill-considered diction (that is, inadvertant incongruity, language out of control.) An illustration from Bengali then returns the discussion to the problem of realism and the political implications of mixed language in contemporary Indian life, and the literature that portrays it. Finally, Hazārī Prasād Dwivedī's novel, Bāṇabhatta kī ātmakathā, offers one of the most subtle and complex examples of word-play in Indian writing today.

Yashpāl's "Nārī kī nā" ("The 'No!' of a Woman")

"The story is in the puranas..." begins Yashpāl. Lord Indra, the king of the gods, learns that the prevailing order of creation, both divine and mortal, is threatened by the increasing powers of the formidable ascetic, Viśvāmitra. This rsi, disturbed by the excessive egotism and tyranny of the brahmans on earth and the gods in heaven, has proclaimed his determination to oppose these corrupt forces and, by virtue of spiritual powers won through centuries of fierce tapas, to begin a new creation. In the face of impending disaster, Indra resorts to the tried and true remedy for such crises: where heavenly argument and heavenly wrath are futile before the powers of asceticism, the wiles of a beautiful woman may yet prevail. Indra therefore sends a celestial nymph, the apsarsa Menakā, to entice the rsi from his resolve. After an initial failure, the apsaras has her way, the rsi falls, and Indra's universe is saved.

The story is not one of Yashpāl's best. In concludes lamely with an harangue, put in the mouth of Indra, on the connection between private property and female modesty. The lecture (which classifies the tale among the numerous social criticism stories of Hindi literature, and which eventually gets around to telling us why a woman says "No!") does not concern us here. What does interest us, however, are certain fairly typical stylistic features of the re-telling of this ancient, and familiar tale.

Traditional source

The reader familiar with the Indian epic tradition will recognize Yashpāl's story. The seduction of a meditating sage whose powers are threatening the established of the universe is a common motif in the literature. Perhaps the most famous version of the Menakā-Viśvāmitra incident in Mahābhārata I. 65-66.

Examples of mixed language

In the present version,[1] when Lord Indra chooses the heavenly apsaras to be sent to charm and befuddle the sage, he rejects Urvaśi, the "Number one apsaras"[1.1] because he does not want to deprive the inhabitants of heaven of their chief source of entertainment. In her place, he sends his "star number do"[1.2] (his Number Two Star). After arriving on earth, Menakā hires a servant to "press"[1.3] her saris and to help her with her "make-up".[1.4] Dancing before the sage, she uses "recorded" music, which she plays on a "record player."[1.5] The text, as I have said, is in Hindi, but the words "make-up," "recorded," "star," and many others, are in English--in devanāgari script--in the text. The effect is ludicrous, as it is meant to be.

The cultural background of the device.

Yashpāl achieves comedy here by two rather obvious devices: by introducing anachronistic, incongruous objects into the epic scene, and by juxtaposing a highly Sanskritized vocabulary, appropriate to the epic tale, and English words sometimes drawn from the popular or even slang level of discourse.

The introduction of English words into the text as a device for producing incongruous comic effects is made possible by the peculiar diversity of the linguistic scene in modern India. The majority of Yashpāl's readers will know Hindi, some English, some Sanskrit (in that they will be familiar with a large number of words, though they may not be able to cope with Sanskrit grammar) and possibly some Urdu. Yashpāl can exploit the linguistic talents of these readers by creating an epic setting pervaded with an atmosphere of heroism or piety, loading the prose with Sanskrit vocabulary, and then riddling the whole with incongruous English words.

The casual reader might assume that it is the pedagogical urge--the fiction writer as modern language builder--that is evident here. To be sure, Hindi, and other Indian vernaculars, have taken loan words from English for concepts and materials unique to the modern era, while traditionalists--concerned for what they call the "chastity" of the language--assign new meanings to ancient Sanskrit terms for the same purpose. English insertions or multilanguage translations are sometimes used for this vocabulary building function in vernacular fiction. For example, an author, feeling that his diction is too highly Sanskritized, may supply an English language or a more basic Hindi translation in parentheses, or in notes. Yashpāl himself, in his novel Divyá,[2] has included a glossary explaining some of his more obscure Sanskrit terms in everyday Hindi.

In a satiric context, however, the real aim of the mixed language is incongruity, not pedagogy. Yashpal tells us, in "Nārī kī nā," that Menakā's servant had worked for good families, "abhijātya kulo[2.1] (aristocratic society) kī sevā," and that the nymph is disgusted with the worthy sage's "hīn ruci (vulgar taste)."[2.2] Aristocratic families and vulgar taste have been with us through the ages, and when the Hindi and English in these phrases stand side by side in the text, Yashpāl includes them because he finds the juxtaposition ridiculous, not because he is trying to teach anyone anything. This is an author indulging in verbal games in a tradition which savours words for their own sakes. It is also a kind of indulgence which is largely foreign to the experience of the U.S. reader whose popular literature is so completely dominated by one language. I can't say "Western" reader here because I'm not sure about this sort of thing in the European literatures, or even Canadian.

Mixed language a potential resource for all the vernaculars.

Similar experiments in word play are available to other Indian vernacular literatures, with the given vernacular as the base language of the text played off against Sanskrit on the one hand, perhaps, and English--or another vernacular, or a dialect--on the other. In the Hindi example, the reader might guess that "Nārī kī nā" is not going to be a serious work from the nature of the central motif--the seduction of a meditating sage by a heavenly apsaras. The subject easily lends itself to comic treatment.

However, it is the mixed language which is the significant clue here and in other satiric short stories of the type. On the basis of one occurrence (and there will be examples early on, for they help to establish the tone of the fiction) one may predict a number of things about the tale. We could guess that "Nārī kī nā" will be short (probably no more than ten pages), ironic--but more probably out-right satire moving toward burlesque, that it will introduce traditional elements (characters, setting, or imagery) from the Sanskritic heritage, and finally, that it will probably have a happy ending.

The device first examined here--learned Sanskrit words brought in contrast with English--has severe limitations, whatever the particular vernacular base in which the game is played. It is an obvious one, so obvious that we soon tire of it. (Thus our prediction that the piece will be short, light reading.) It distracts attention from the narrative because, by making the reader conscious of linguistic facts, it makes him conscious of author and self. The transparence of the language--the quality so important to serious literature in that it allows for total immersion in the fiction--is lost. An author in full command of his craft, as Yashpāl is, avoids this kind of verbal play in his more important efforts.

"Śambūka" a more significant tale.

Yashpāl's short story "Śambūka"[3] provides a more careful, subtle, and effective example of linguistic incongruity. Yashpāl again recasts traditional material, in this case a late brahmanic interpolation into the epics,[4] in which Lord Rama punishes a śūdra (man of low caste) who dares to practice religious austerities. Śambūka has abandoned his proper occupation as a servant and undertaken religious disciplines in order to obtain moksa, salvation. From the extremely orthodox view, he has stepped out of line. The chastisement of Śambūka is rationalized by the theory of dharma--better your own dharma, your own role in life, even though ineptly lived, than the dharma of another.

When Yashpāl's short story was conceived, Mahatma Gāndhī had been arguing for a revival of the Golden Age of ancient India, the Rām Rājya.

Yashpāl wanted to dramatize his fear that a renaissance of the Age of Rama might also revivify the caste system and its accompanying rationalizations for privilege (Interview).[5] The pursuit of moksa, the highest aim of Hindu philosophy, should never be the monopoly of the brahmans. In his Hindi version of the Śambūka tale, the author accomplishes his social criticism by retelling the ancient story in faithful detail, without overt political statement or moralizing, but by pervading the text with a subtle tone of irony. In the original story, as brahmanical cautionary tale, Rama's discipline of Śambūka is an act worthy of the supreme up-holder of dharma--here it is a dastardly deed.

The mechanics of irony--an incongruous Sanskrit compound

In the modern story, Śambūka beholds Rama, "the removing-all-sorrow, salvation-giving, abode-of-splendour Lord himself" and his eyes are radiant with happiness. Unfortunately, the removing all sorrow salvation giving abode of splendour at once rejects the unhappy servant's right to religious pursuits, and severs his head with one sweep of the sword. The epithet for Lord Rama in the text uses Sanskrit compounds, "ābhāpuñja, sarvadukharana moksadata bhagavān."[6] These could be translated with subordinate clauses, "The splendid Lord, who removes the sorrow of all, who grants salvation." However, subordinate clause construction was also available to Yashpāl in Hindi, as it is in English, and he did not use it. The absence of elaborate compounds is one of the main differences between the modern North Indian spoken languages, and Sanskrit, an artificial language. Yashpāl has chosen a compound construction stylistically more appropriate to Sanskrit than to modern Hindi in order to heighten the ironic effect.

Many contemporary vernacular works drawing on Sanskrit literature do make use of ornamental language, and compounds, for the more general purpose of evoking the flavour and atmosphere of the classical language--and therefore of the revered and honoured past so intimately bound up with it. The compound here might be explained in this light. However, if we compare Yashpāl's prose with that of other writers who use traditional material (with Hazārī Prasād Dwivedī's, for example), we find that the former makes spare use of compound construction. Here the pompous compounds, stock phrases in the Sanskrit treasury, but unusual for Yashpāl, immediately strike the eye. The "removing all sorrow" epithet describing Rama occurs directly before his slaying the helpless servant, the more elaborate construction heightening the incongruity of deed and characterization. There is, furthermore, not one word of English in the text.

Unintentional incongruity--language out of control

The successful writer must realize the various potentialities of his word choices. If he is not in command, the result may not be intensification of meaning, as in "Śāmbūka," nor even pure fun, as in "Nārī kī nā," but bafflement and contradiction. Consider, for example, the dilemma of the Progressivist writer Rāhul Sankrityāyana in his collection of short stories, Volgā see gangā, published in 1942. In his preface the author sets down his basic purpose in fictionalizing the material of his scholarly research. The English edition[7] includes a translation of thie preface in which the author explains that he has tried to give a scientific survey of the social evolution of the Indian peoples elsewhere, in his scholarly works. "The wish to give a simple picture, and make the outline easier to grasp, has led me to write the present book."[8]

The translator, Victor Kiernan, comments on the style of the collection in an introductory note "His diction, in the first part of the book, is very heavily Sanskritized, as is natural in view of the demands of his subject..."[9] and then continues with this curious observation:

"The task would have been quite beyond my inadequate knowledge, had I not been liberally helped by my Hindi speaking colleagues... I take this opportunity of thanking Dr. Hardev Bahri .. . and Mr. P. C. Jain--the latter of whom, on one occasion, ransacked no fewer than fourteen lexicons in a vain search for a word which had baffled all of us."[10]

With the aid of fourteen lexicons and Dr. Hardev Bahri (a native speaker of Hindi, an encyclopedist and scholar of Hindi at Allahabad University) and Mr. P. C. Jain, the translator could not identify all of the words in a volume intended, by the author's own statement, to give a "simple picture" of the social evolution of India to the non-specialist reader. The intrusion of the incongruous Sanskritisms referred to by Kiernan surely results from a pedantry out of control, rather than a mastery of the linguistic material.

A Bengali/English example: mixed language as "realism"

Many westerners--even those who know nothing about South Asian languages or literatures--may now have an opportunity to experience, and evaluate, something of the techniques under discussion here. The latest film trilogy of the famous Bengali director, Satyajit Ray, has begun to circulate in western theatres. The first of the series, "Days and Nights in the Forest" (Aranyer din Ratri),[11] based on a novel by Sunil Ganguly, and its thematic sequel, "The Adversary" (Pratidwandi),[12] based on a story by the same Bengali writer, use a bizarre mix of Bengali and English.

The setting is contemporary, the speech free-flowing and idiomatic (young, educated Bengalis often do talk this way, with an English word popping up, incongruously, in every other sentence), and the major themes political. Western audiences and film critics have immediately, and correctly (up to a point), recognized the political and cultural significance of the linguistic mix. In his program notes, Joseph Hurley writes,

> The foregoing "Days and Nights in the Forest" has been called 'perhaps the subtlest, most plangent study of the cultural tragedy of imperialism the screen has ever had.' "The Adversary" deepens the tragedy by presenting in a well-intentioned young student a perfect victim for an Indian bureaucracy so entrenched in the ways of the banished British master race that examinations and job interviews must be conducted in the preferred tongue, English, and a youth who is not automatically steeped in ethnological self-detestation cannot hope to survive.[13]

The Vidūsika figure--criticism beyond politics

In "Days and Nights" Ray follows the adventures of four young Indians--Calcutta educated and newly, if not happily, launched on varied careers--on a holiday into the Bengali countryside. In their analyses, the western film critics continue their emphasis on the political aspects of the material. Writes Hurley,

> The two most dominant comrades are the leaderly and successful Ashim, imperious and probably the most self-loathing of the four, and the gently and well-mannered Sanjoy with whom Ashim once shared the editorial partnership of a doomed literary magazine in the days before he turned his energies toward money and power for their own sour sakes. The remaining friends ... are Hari ... and, finally, the globular Sekhar, the group's insignificant lackey whom New Yorker critic Pauline Kael termed 'a joke the British left behind.'[14]

No doubt Ashim is self-loathing, and perhaps he and his three friends (and <u>all</u> Indians who dare mix English with their vernacular?) are "steeped in ethnological self-detestation" as Hurley would have it. However, I see a major critical oversimplification here--a critical error in the interpretation of the films and of the literature on which they are based.

And to begin the revision, I also see an entirely different lineage for the globular Śekhar. He is the direct descendent of the court fool, the Vidūsika, the boon companion to kings and heroes of classical Sanskrit drama, who has survived down through the centuries to emerge, with considerable variations, in popular drama and in Bombay films. A brahman, homely in face and body, but witty, talkative, interfering, fond of food and comfort, cowardly--but brave and loyal in support of his companions, a orous, yet always acting as go-between, scheming in love for his' friends rather than in his own interests--there characterize the Vidūsika of the dramas and the Śekhar of "Days and Nights."

In his definitive study of the Vidūsika, G. K. Bhat explains the role, "The Vidūsika is a critic, a jester, 'a spoiler for fun.' He combines in his role humourous laughter as well as a critical attitude towards the incongruities of life."[15] Further, the spoiler for fun speaks Prakrit, by dramatic convention the language of minor and 'low' characters in the plays, rather than the Sanskrit spoken by kings and brahmans and charioteers, though he himself is always a brahman. "Incongruity," explains Bhat, "is the very essence of the character of the Vidūsaka. If so, a Brahman speaking in Prakrit is apt to present a picture of incongruity; and the dramatists have, therefore, stuck to this detail as an inevitable device for stage laughter."[16]

In "Days and Nights," Śekhar and his three friends drown their worries one evening in country liquor and idle talk. When Śekhar glimpses a drunken tribal woman across a crowded room, and dubs her "Miss India," he is not wallowing in self-detestation, he's having fun. The image of a western beauty queen is amusing because it is so out of place in a murky steaming village hut in the middle of a North Indian forest. The English element here is a resource for Sekhar, chief fool and jester, not a cross to bear.

The injustices of colonial rule and a subsequent self-devaluation on the part of some Indians are real enough, and certainly valid subjects for fiction and the films. Therefore, the critics are right in seeing this devaluation (especially, for example, when English is obligatory in the job interviews in "The Adversary"), as one important aspect of the three films, and indeed of many contemporary films, novels and short stories which incorporate English into the vernacular dialogue. However, to reduce the interpretation to political terms is to cut oneself off from whole areas of literary appreciation.

Indians have been aware, for centuries, of the comic potentialities of incongruous language. English is only the latest language to be put to this use. To the ancient Indian elite who attended the dramas, it was absurd for a brahman to speak the language of the majority of ordinary people, rather than Sanskrit. Today, a more democratically minded people find it absurd when a brahman youth manipulates English (or pompous Sanskritisms) in his vernacular. But we must realize that in contemporary works, the writer is often laughing with his audience at English, not at the (Indian) speakers of English. Śekhar at his most ignominious, caught in his undies bathing at the well--and mumbling endless cliche apologies (in English)--is nevertheless in complete command of the scene.

Finally, I find the political interpretation itself a kind of colonial arrogance. It denies Śekhar and friends (and their authors) the gumption to become the masters and exploiters of their multilingual talents, rather than victims. It is ridiculous to see the heirs of Pānini in this light.

Hazārī Prasād Dwivedī's Bānabhatta kī 'ātmakathā'

A complex and little understood example of subtle word play which is essential to the interpretation of a major work, and not mere ornament, occurs in a renowned piece of modern Hindi fiction, Hazārī Prasād Dwivedī's Bānabhatta kī 'ātmakathā.'[18] It would take a separate study to fully explore the significance and implications of the one word 'ātmakathā' in the title and frame story of the novel. However, the outlines of the problem can be presented here.

The ātmakathā is a diary-like account, written in the first person, of events in the life of a renowned seventh century Sanskrit poet and prose writer, Bānabhatta. A preface (kathāmukha) and an epilogue (upasamhāra) by one Vyomakeś Śāstrī, editor, enclose the central narrative. This framing material, seemingly a part of the scholarly paraphernalia of annotation and commentary often supplementing a work, is in fact an integral part of the fiction. The kathāmukha identifies the ātmakathā as a Hindi translation of a Sanskrit manuscript recently discovered in the vicinity of the River Śona in North India.

So convincing are the learned remarks of editor Vyoma, and so plausible is the account of his 'Dīdī', an elderly Austrian friend and Indic scholar who had allegedly discovered the original Sanskrit work, that a few critics were deceived when the tale appeared in 1946.[19] The text, supplied with numerous footnotes by the diligent Vyoma, seemed entirely consistent with the available information about the early writer Bāna. The historical Bāna had provided a fragment of autobiography, unique in the history of Sanskrit literature, in his Harsacarita. The latter, a description of a few episodes in the life of the poet's patron, the Emperor Harsavardhana of Kānyakubja, includes in its first chapters a mythological history of Bāna's family, a brief account of his early years, and even a list of companions--of high and low degree--of his vagabond youth. These autobiographical fragments, along with the other known fictional works of the great poet, could be compared in content, style, and language with the new literary find. In reality, however, editor Vyoma's erudite remarks, as well as the poet's sad reminiscences in the main narrative, came from the same pen--that of a teacher at Rabindranath Tagoré's school at Śāntiniketan, a scholar of Hindi and Sanskrit, Hazārī Prasād Dwivedī.

Dwivedī had worked on his novel, off and on, during his years at Śāntiniketan (during the thirties and early forties). In its final form, the work we have today, it is not really meant to deceive the reader, but to set him thinking. While writing the first drafts, however, the author was inspired by a desire to ridicule, by means of a literary hoax, certain modern critical approaches to the interpretation of Sanskrit literature. This desire inspired the format of central fiction and frame story, and the play on words to be examined below. In interview, Dwivedī explained his original conception:

"As I told you, I came from a very orthodox family and my study was also very orthodox. In the beginning, at least when this book was written, I read many things of modern scholars--about Vedas, about Buddhism, about Tantras, about so many things--discussed in the modern way. And sometimes the brahman in me could not just tolerate it. So, I had this little idea that, let it first be printed; then I shall criticize it in a modern way and prove that it is really a good work, an historical work. Just to ridicule them. And in the end, I shall print the letter of the Didi that the whole thing is a farce."[20]

As the ātmakathā began to take on its final shape, something very important for Hazārī Prasād, and for Hindi literature, began to happen: the author came to see that his fictional re-creation of a past age might have real literary value. His original motives began to seem petty, unworthy of a voice pretending to speak for that impressive poet of ancient India, the great Bānabhatta. Dwivedī therefore abandoned the notion of perpetrating a literary ruse. Thus, instead of a hoax, we have a minor classic of contemporary Indian literature.

The ātmakathā is perhaps the most universally admired among works based on traditional material in modern Hindi fiction. Comparing it with other work of the same type, S. H. Vātsyāyana wrote:

"Hazārī-prasād Dwivedī's (1907-) Banabhatta ki Atmakatha was the one example of complete period authenticity. In this remarkable reconstruction of medieval society through the device of a well-known writer's autobiography the author has been scrupulously correct not only about outward forms but also about the social mores and sensibilities of the period."[21]

Vātsyayāna must not have been aware of the significance of Dīdī or he would not have written the criticism above, nor the statement elsewhere that the ātmakathā is "equally erudibe and authentic as a picture of both society and the mental modes and ideas of the time."[22] For Dwivedī had not, in truth, wanted to be restrained by considerations of historical accuracy or period authenticity.

The mechanism of the word play

The upasamhara to the novel quotes a letter from Dīdī, telling Vyoma that he has been mistaken in presenting the ātmakathā as an autobiography. (The English word "autobiography" is here inserted into the Hindi text for the first time.) It is the story of the soul of Bānabhatta. We have been misled by the form of the novel, its first-person narrative, and by the introductory interpretation offered by Vyomakeś Śāstrī.

In the kathamūkha Vyoma tells how he had obtained the text from Miss Catherine, an elderly Austrian friend whom he calls Dīdī ('auntie' or 'granny') because she is as dear as a grandmother to him. Dīdī had returned from a pilgrimage along the banks of the River Śona and toiled through the night over a bundle of papers. Next day, she had handed over a Hindi 'anuvād', translation, to Vyoma, with instructions to correct it and get it typed up in Calcutta. (But an anuvad of what? The question is skillfully avoided.) On the top of the first page, Didi had written, "atha banabhatta ki atmakatha likhyate."[23] Vyoma's reaction is recorded in these words, "Banabhatta ki atmakatha. Tab to didi ko amulya vastu hath lagi hai."[24] "The atmakatha of Banabhatta. Then Didi really has got hold of something priceless." (Note that we must not translate atmakatha here; to do so is to beg the question at issue.) From his later remarks, and from Didi's final letter in the upasamhara, it is clear that Vyoma has paid insufficient attention to the peculiar mixture of Hindi and Sanskrit in the title to Didi's find. Literally, the sentence says, "Here the atmakatha of Banabhatta is written." The Hindi possessive 'ki' is used, but 'likhyate' is a Sanskrit passive, not Hindi, for "is written." (Didi's heading remains in the novel in all of its subsequent reprints and editions.) The reader should guess what Vyoma has overlooked--Didi tends to give a Sanskrit coloring to her Hindi. To her, 'atmakatha' means 'soul-story.' It is Vyoma who interprets the compound in the special sense taken over from western literature and given it in modern Hindi usage--autobiography. ("I thought you had studies Sanskrit!" chides Didi.[25])

Hints to coming ambiguities

The paly on words in the heading does not stand alone. There are many supporting indications in the kathamukha of coming ambiguities, of what we may expect from Miss Catherine. She had gone to Raja grha on an earlier journey. There she had met a jackal which stood and stared at her, wide-eyed, as if it wanted to tell her something. Didi believed that the jackal was a contemporary of the divine Buddha and had wanted to say something about that age, for she had seen on its face an expression of simple, open-hearted compassion. "Ah, how mericful had been even the jackals of that age! I realized that if Didi were allowed, she would spin out an entire puraṇa about that jackal and it would be difficult to extricate oneself."[26] Clearly Granny has a fairly active imagination. The reader should be warned, even though Vyoma is not. In her final letter, Didi tells her young friend that "the soul of Bana is present in every grain of sand of the River Sona." The sands of the Sona and not a jackal have spoken to Granny this time.

Significance for the story proper

Thus, the atmakatha is a soul-story. The entire volume should be understood as an interplay between the sensibilities of the seventh century poet (as conceived by Dwivedi) and the author's own contemporary Indian understanding, fictionalized through the Didi. For example, the geography, among other aspects, makes no attempt to be "scrupulously correct" but is often imaginary. (Interview)[27] Also, the Bana of the novel regards all women, regardless of caste, station or character, as sacred. A woman's body is the temple of god. "That is my own view which I have learned from tantras and sastra literature and from Rabindranath Tagore's literature... but in Banabhatta, you don't find this."[28] Again, prominence is given, in the atmakatha, to the worship of Mahavarah, the boar incarnation of Visnu, because of its interest and importance to Dwivedi, and not because there is any evidence for its special significance for the historical Bana. (Interview)

In short, a student looking for period authenticity or instant history in the novel would be well advised to be on his guard, whatever the interpretations of the atmakatha now current among Hindi critics.

Dwivedi's play on words is quite different from the casual word games in the short stories of Yashpal, examined above. In the satiric tales, we recall, English jargon is set off against a highly Sanskritized vocabulary for comic purposes. Any particular example, any particular word pair brought into comic contrast, could be replaced by another, or even dropped out entirely, without changing the essential nature of the story. But for the fiction in the frame story of the atmakatha, only this particular word will do. A modern meaning of the word is played off against the Sanskrit one in a fictional structure which tries to condition how the reader will approach the "I" of the main narrative, and thus interpret the entire volume. Behind the Didi lurks Hazari Prasad Dwivedi, teasing and chiding the reader, "Oh come now, I thought you had studies Sanskrit!"

1. Yashpal, "Nari ki na," in Sac bolne ki bhul (Lucknow, 1962) pp. 91-97.
2. Yashpal, "Sabdartha," in Divva (Lucknow, 1961) pp. 218-221.
3. Yashpal, "Sambuka," in Abhisapt (Lucknow, 1962) pp. 132-135.
4. Yashpal retells the version in Valmiki's Ramayana. For its interpretation as a late interpolation meant to reinvorce the exclusive rights of the brahmans, see M. Winternits, A History of Indian Literature, I (Calcutta, 1927), p. 495.
5. Yashpa, Interview, Lucknow (March, 1964).
6. "Sambuka," p. 134.
7. Rahul Sankrityayana, From Volga to Ganga, trans. Victor Kiernan, 2d ed. (Mussoorie, 1953).
8. P. ii
9. P. iii
10. Loc. Cit.
11. "Days and Nights in the Forest" (Aranyer Din Ratri) Priya Films, India, 1970.
12. "The Adversary" (Pratidwandi) Priya Films, India, 1971.
13. Joseph Hurley, Program Notes to Film Choice #12, April 15, 1973. "The Adversary" East West Center Spring Festival University of Hawaii.
14. Joseph Hurley, Program Notes to Film Choice #11, April 1973. "Days and Nights in the Forest" East West Center Spring Festival University of Hawaii.
15. G. K. Bhat, The Vidusaka (Ahmedahad, 1959), p. 89.
16. Ibid.
17. Joseph Hurley, Program Notes to "The Adversary".

18. Hazari Prasad Dwivedi, Banabhatta ki 'atmakatha', 4th ed. (Bombay, 1961)

19. Devaraj Upadhyaya, in his contribution to a collection of reviews of the 'atmakatha' mentions his "learned friend" Sri Santikumar Nenuram as one of the scholars who had been misled. "Banabhatta ki 'atmakatha'". Pratik V (Winter 1948) p. 100.

20. Interviews with Hazari Prasad Dwivedi, Chandigarh, India, July, 1964.

21. S. H. Vatsyayana, "Hindi Literature," In Contemporary Indian Literature, 2d ed. (New Delhi, 1959), p. 91.

22. S. H. Vatsyayana, "Hindi Literature," In Free India, Proceedings of the Second All-India Conference (Banaras, 1947), p. 177.

23. Kathamukha, p. 9.

24. Loc. cit.

25. Upasamhara, p. 307.

26. Kathamukha, p. 6.

27. Interview, Hazari Prasad Dwivedi.

28. Interview

29. Interview

JAVANESE HONORIFICS AND THEIR LINGUISTIC IMPLICATIONS

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What usually happens in scientific endeavors is that even when one wants to investigate a certain phenomenon, one must make oneself aware of other phenomena outside one's primary interest or discipline. To study the verbal interpersonal communication among the Javanese requires an in-depth understanding of their total outlook, because what appears in their speech is only a surface manifestation of well-founded values and beliefs prevailing within the society. If we are aiming at any explanatory value, we must go deep down into the roots which cause surface realization to exist. Since many of the societal manifestations are realized in linguistic forms, it is only logical that when a study of these linguistic forms is to be made, it must be made with reference to the values and beliefs that underlie them.

While my observation of the sociological and cultural phenomena of the Javanese is very much "amateurish", being born and brought up in the culture, I as anyone else with similar background would, eventually developed a sense of selectivity which tells me intuitively which phenomena are Javanese and which are not. In this paper I will try to present only those phenomena which are relevant to our conference here and to the topic of my paper today. I will then relate them to the honorific system found in the language, and finally point out their linguistic implications.

First of all, it is very well known that one of the Javanese ways to be polite is by not being frank and direct.[1] Frankness is considered too "unsubtle". It may put people in an embarrassing position as it may create a situation where certain Javanese norms have to be violated in response.

I have felt for some that this attitude has penetrated rather significantly into relations of a formal nature which oftentimes complicates decision-making more than necessary, and in many cases results in a disadvantageous compromise.[2] The kind of similes which the Javanese use provide evidence of the phenomenon of being indirect and not-frank. The so-called wangsalan is a set of phrases or sentences whose meaning cannot be deduced from the componential parts of the whole, nor from the totality of the whole, but rather from the association that the parts and/or the whole may have with other phenomena in society on the basis of their phonological or other similarities. For example, after singing for the whole night to accompany a shadow play, a singer may close her ordeal with

(1) Djenang selo wader kali sesonderan
porridge stone fish river zigzag

which by itself does not have any meaning. The meaning can only be obtained after going through several stages of interpretains. First, we must wonder what kind of porridge-like thing is made of stone; which particular fish lives in rivers; and, what object zigzags. It turns out that what is meant by the stone porridge is the while lime taffy which women use when chewing betelnut. In Javanese this is called apu. Among the possible fish found in rivers, the one intended here is that which is called sepat. And one of the objects that zigzags is ulo meaning "snake". Sentence (1) has now an intermediate interpretation as given in (2)

	Djenang selo	wader kali	sesonderan
(2)	apu	sepat	ulo

As it stands, (2) is still meaningless. We must expand the interpretation further to relate the phonological shapes or the sounds found in (2) with the lexical items in the language. The Javanese relate apu with the verb ngapurantjang which literally means 'to sit cross-legged showing respectful attitudes for various purposes including the requesting of forgiveness.' Sepat is associated with the adjective or noun lepat meaning 'mistaken, mistake', and ulo is associated with the Javanese pronoun kawulo or kulo 'I; common people'. To these phonological correlations, we must add the phrase jen wonten 'if there is' between ngapurantjang and lepat, bringing about the sentence (3) below

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(3) Ngapurantjang jen wonten lepat   kawulo
    forgive       if  exist  mistake I
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meaning 'Please forgive me, if I have made any mistake'.

A second phenomenon is that the Javanese are extremely age-conscious. In a rather extreme manner of speaking, we can say that when someone is born, he is assigned to a node within the network of relationships inside as well as outside the family circle. His existence is already predestined, so to speak; although he is basically free, he is free only in so far as he adjusts himself to the society's norms. Within the nuclear family he is expected to recognize the existence of hierarchial relationships. He is expected to "behave up" to anyone in the family older than he is, while, at the same time, he should not expect respectful treatment from them in return, nor does he have to show respect for anyone younger.

Outside the family circle similar behavior is also expected, although some adjustments must be made to accommodate factors not found in family situations. One of these factors is social status. As a Javanese grows up in his society, he begins to see two social classes: the prijaji and the wong ndeso. Originally, the term prijaji was used to refer to people who worked for the (colonial) government, irrespective of their rank.[3] Currently, prijaji refers to any white-collar worker, while wong ndeso refers to blue-collar workers as well as peasants. The prijaji--wong ndeso categorization calls forth a set of differential behavioral expectations from members of the community. In general the social norms are less rigid in the wong ndeso than in the prijaji category. Within his own category, an individual must again "behave up" when he associates with someone of a higher status.

A behavioral adjustment must be made if a conflict of age and social status arises. An adjustment must also be made if a relationship becomes more intimate. The factor of intimacy is uperimposed on the age and status factors which may then bring about the abolition of previously held relational notions, or the retention of only some significant parts of them. As is usually the case, the more intimate the relationship between two individuals, the thinner the separating wall between them. Whether or not the fitting distance will be maintained forever depends on many other factors such as the circumstances under which the two individuals become acquainted.

The social phenomena which we have just discussed are overtly relfected in the language, both lexically and grammatically. While the number of lexical items is indeed rather small--approximately 900 items--and the grammatical forms very limited, these items cover every-day concepts such as human activities, states of being, bodily parts, possessable objects, non-possessable but very frequently used objects, numericals, and many others. These concepts compel the Javanese to attend to the grammatical aspects as well as the social flavors which he intends to convey. He must bear in mind who he is talking to, who he is talking about, and who he is talking to about whom. All of these considerations are realized in the honorific system of the language.

Basically Javanese has only two levels of politeness, the respectful kromo (also called boso) and the more familiar and less respectful ngoko. The kromo is subdivided into kromo inggil, high kromo, and kromo madyo, intermediate kromo. Since the difference between one individual and another with respect to age and status is relative and intimacy can be superimposed on them, the Javanese are compelled to set up a "scale of honorificty" in such a way that conflicting factors can be accommodated. This is necessary to ensure that the message and the social attitudes are conveyed in the most appropriate way. The widely held view is that Javanese has nine sublevels:[4]

1. Mudo kromo : the most polite and formal level, used among the prijaji by an inferior toward a superior.[5]
2. Kramantoro : a level used to address someone that the speaker does not know very well but suspects of being not quite a prijaji
3. Wredo kromo : a polite level used among the prijaji when a superior wishes to show respectful attitudes to his inferior.
4. Madyo kromo : a semi-polite level used by an inferior toward a superior outside the family circle. It can be used among the prijaji or the wong ndeso.
5. Madyantoro : a semi-polite level used to address a wong ndeso who is older than the speaker, not of the lowest scale in the wong ndeso category, and not on intimate terms with him.
6. Madyo ngoko : a semi-polite level used to address someone of the wong ndeso category who is of very

low scale but very much older than the speaker.

7. Boso antyo : a familiar level used among the prijaji, by an inferior toward a superior, if the two are on intimate terms.

8. Antyo boso : similar to boso antyo with the following difference: in boso antyo the addressee is very much higher than the speaker.

9. Ngoko lugu : a non-respectful level used by superiors toward their inferiors, among close friends or relatives of the same age or generation.

We can now see that an utterance in Javanese consists of two parts: (1) the core message that the individual lexical items and their syntactic juxtaposition express, and (2) the social attitudes which are expressed mainly in the particular lexical choices made from aong those lexical items which share one and the same meaning. This being the case it is obvious that it is virtually impossible to speak Javanese without integrating the honorific features in one's speech.

The factor of intimacy aside, if, for instance, A as a speaker of the prijaji category is to ask B whether or not the latter has had his meals, A must first know where he stands in relation to B. If B is superior, say, his father or teacher, A must phrase his question as given in (4)

(4) Punopo pandjenengan sampun dahar?
Q-word you already eat

'Have you eaten?'

where all the words used are polite forms. If the situation is reversed, he can say

(5) Opo kowe wis mangan?
Q-word you already eat

'Have you eaten?'

where all the words are non-respectful forms. If, on the other hand, A and B are more or less equal but not on intimate terms, and each wishes to keep some fitting distance, A may say

(6) Punopo sampejan sampun nedo?
Q-word you already eat

'Have you eaten?'

where all the words are intermediate-polite forms.

The case becomes rather complicated since two or more conflicting factors may be found in one situation. In the case represented by (4), the relation between A and his father may be of the type in which the father has gradually implanted in the mind of his child an intimate relation in such a way that honorific rules are less observed. Under this circumstances A shows respect to him not by using all the polite forms as in (4), but by lowering the Q-word punopo into opo, the auxiliary word sampun into wis, by replacing the high word pandjenengan with the more intimate pronoun substitute bapak 'father,' and by retaining only the activity very dahar in the polite form, as given in (7)

(7) Opo bapak wis dahar?
Low-Q-word father Low-already High-eat

The reverse situation may also exist where A is, say, B's father-in-law. As a father A has every right to "speak down" to his son-in-law B, but there may be other factors involved -- such as B's very high status -- which makes A feel uneasy, if he does not show some respect for him. Therefore, he may end up with a sentence such as

(8) Opo sliramu wis dahar?
Low-Q-word Intermediate-your body Low-already High-eat

where opo and wis are low words, and dahar a high word. Instead of using the non-respectful kowe for 'you' he will use the intermediate non-personal pronoun substitute sliramu which literally means 'your body.'

The complexity increases, if a third person, C, is also involved, because not only must A now be aware of what C is to him, but also how C stands relative to B. Thus, to express the message X "B is requested by C to come," A as a speaker must observe a triangle relation. If all three are good friends, X can be realized as

(9)	Kowe	dikongkon	teko[6]
	Low-you	Low-be requested	Low-come

where all the words are low forms. If C is higher than A and B, say, their father or teacher, and B is equal to or lower than A, say, his classmate or younger sister, X can be expressed as

(10)	Kowe	didawuhi	teko.
	Low-you	High-be requested	Low-come

where the verbs didawuhi and teko are high and low respectively. The choice of the high verb didawuhi is based on the fact that, deep honorifically, the agent who gives the order is their father (teacher) so that, as far as speaker A and listener B are concerned, their father, C, must be given the highest respect. On the other hand, B, who is ordered to come, is lower than C as well as A. Consequently, A can use the low form teko.

If listener B is higher than speaker A, say, B is A's father, and the third person, C, is lower than B but higher than A, say, C is A's wife, message X must appear as

(11)	Bapak	diaturi	rawuh.
	you	High-be requested	High-come

where the verbs diaturi and rawuh are both high forms. Here the choice of the high verb diaturi instead of the high verb didawuhi is determined by the fact that the third person, C, who gives the order is lower than the second person, B. To use _didawuhi_ would make B, the father, unhappy as it places his wife, C, higher than him. Naturally, the low verb _dikongkon_ cannot be used instead of _diaturi_, since the third person, C, is lower than the second person, B. In other words, a wife can _ngaturi_ 'request' her husband, but she cannot _ndawuhi_ 'request' him. The verb for 'to come' must be in the high form _rawuh_, not in the low form _teko_, because the agent, C, who performs the coming is higher than the speaker, A.

We can see from the above that if it is the father who asks his wife to come, speaker A as their son must naturally say

(12) Ibu didawuhi rawuh
mother High-be requested High-come

We see from the foregoing analysis that the intricate network of honorifics in Javanese constitutes an integral part of the system which makes the language what it is. To neglect the honorific features is to ignore the social norms of the society. This can have very serious consequences. We also see that a speaker switches from one sublevel to another in one and the same sentence depending on the circumstances. On whatever sublevel one happens to be speaking, a respectful attitude must be shown by retaining at least some crucial parts of the sentence in high or intermediate forms. These words are usually those related to human activities and bodily parts.

The linguistic question that we must raise is where and when in linguistics must we accommodate these honorific features? This question may lead to other questions as yet unforeseen. The state of present-day linguistics, in particular its semantic side, cannot be said to have achieved a satisfactory stage, although we must agree that it is happily going deeper and deeper into what may be called human knowledge. The unfortunate fact is, however, human knowledge may never have an end. Since human competence in language use is ultimately based on human knowledge of the world, we may have to answer the question concerning when our linguistic inquiry must stop, and the rest, whatever that is, must begin. We have seen from recent linguistic literature that the deeper we dig, the more problems we reveal. Witness, for instance, the problem of setting apart Katz and Fodor's "distinguishers" from "semantic markers" as demonstrated by Bolinger (1963), or Wallace Chafe's insurmountable difficulties in his attempt to exhaust the inherent features determining the status of a noun as definite or indefinite (1973). After having said sentence (13), the only way we can account for the fact that teeth in (14) must be definite is by listing features such as "having teeth, eyes, noses ..." under his inherent features for the noun whale.

(13) There is a whale on the beach.

(14) Let's go get the teeth.

While the notion of presupposition does help a great deal in determining the grammaticalness of many utterance types, it also runs into trouble when its range is fully exploited, because "those conditions that the world must meet in order for the sentence to make literal sense" (Keenan, 1971, 45) may again be infinite.

In light of these problems, do honorifics fall under "knowledge of the world?" My feeling is that they do not. From the purely linguistic side, honorifics do not determine syntactic acceptability nor do they obstruct the conveying of the core message. As far as knowledge of the world is concerned, honorifics are limited to the outlook of a particular cultural group, lesser in range than a presupposition.

Being syntactically insignificant, honorifics are different from what Chomsky has called selectional features, in that, if the former are violated, the core message is still conveyed. This is certainly not the case with the violation of a selectional rule. Honorifically incongrous sentence as in (15) still conveys the message 'Have you eaten' despite the fact that the high words punopo and sampun and the low words kowe and mangan are not honorifically permissable.

(15)*Punopo	kowe	sampun	mangan?
High-Q-word	Low-you	High-already	High-eat

I have stated in my earlier paper (1973) that the approach advocated by Chafe provides no place for honorifics, despite the fact that his theory as a whole seems very promising. After the inherent and the contextual units have been ferreted out, we may not be able to lexicalize the roots simply because the choice of the roots is determined by the relational features that exist among the references represented by the nouns.

In conclusion we must say that if acceptability is to be understood to include the feelings that speakers of a speech community share, there is no doubt that honorifics must be made an integral part of linguistics. I have suggested in my earlier paper that if Chafe's approach is to be used, we have to add honorific rules before the post-semantic processes are applied.

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FOOTNOTES

1. Many of the so called "social jokes" are based on the fact that people would beat about the bush in order to come to the real point they wish to convey. Thus, for instance, when visiting a friend, one may talk at great length about the soaring of prices, his children being sick, his salary lasting for only 20 days, etc., before finally dropping a hint to the host that what he actually needs is some money to borrow for a few days or weeks.

2. It is my wild guess here that one of the factors that contributes to the inefficiency of government administration is due to the reluctance of some people to explicitly tell their underlings that they have not done their job properly.

3. The widely known term abangan does not, in fact, refer to a social class, but rather to a religious group who are Moslems by birth but do not practice the Islamic teaching faithfully. An abangan can be prijaji or a wong ndeso.

4. For more detailed presentation, see Soepomo, 1968.

5. What is interesting here is that most Javanese are not familiar with this detailed classification, although all Javanese are aware of their existence, and many of them do master all of these sublevels.

6. The agent is not indicated here.

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FRENCH COLONIAL POLICY TOWARDS VERNACULAR LANGUAGE DEVELOPMENT AND THE CASE OF PHAM QUYNH IN VIET-NAM

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When French colonialism began to gain a firm foothold in Viet-Nam at the beginning of the 1860s, the French administration made a series of political decisions, based on previous French experience in the area and on their perception of the Vietnamese social situation, which had a serious and long-lasting effect on the status of the Vietnamese language and, in turn, on modern Vietnamese history. This paper will try to suggest an outline of the situation first encountered by the French and indicate the probable motivating factors behind their policies. We shall also document the course of events during and just prior to the 1914-1918 War which brought to prominence a young writer-politician, Phạm Quỳnh, whose role in Vietnamese history has been controversial, to say the least.

Let us for a moment examine the pre-French colonial language context of Viet-Nam and identify some of the salient features of that period as they bear on our inquiry. During the 1,000-year era of direct Chinese domination (111 B.C. - 939 A.D.), nearly all of the more familiar Chinese cultural, political, social, and religious institutions were introduced into Viet-Nam. The Chinese language was one of these institutions. While we have not as yet found any evidence that Chinese was widely spoken in Viet-Nam at the time, it seems to have been the only written language, used primarily for administrative and literary purposes, up until at least the XIIIth century. And its predominance in administrative use continued, with a few exceptions, right up until the XIXth century and the coming of the French. On the one hand, it proved to be a most effective tool for the promotion and maintenance of Chinese culture and Chinese political control; on the other hand, it helped reinforce the divisions between social classes in Viet-Nam itself. To know Chinese was to have exclusive access to administrative documents and the high literary and cultural appurtenances of power. It was the outstanding mark of the educated man. The fact that acquiring written Chinese was a slow and difficult process tended to exclude, however unconsciously, the poorer student and restrict its accessibility; this might lead one to suppose that there was little impetus for the "intelligentry"* to look favorably upon any language reforms that would encourage undue competition.

During the initial period of Chinese control in Viet-Nam there seems to have occurred a steady immigration of ethnic Chinese who rather naturally flowed towards the centres of power, something not surprisingly found in other colonial situations at various times

*a coined word meant to describe that class of people in Chinese society who were both land owners and the main source of candidates to the civil service through the literary examination system.

and places. It can be said with some certainty that their knowledge of written Chinese was no impediment to their ability to impose themselves under these circumstances and one cannot help but notice the parallel with the semi-literate Corsican's ability to find a job in colonial Algerian officialdom.

Nonetheless, the force and cohesion which Chinese ideas and social forms lent to Viet-Nam along with the slow realization that continued Chinese domination did not favor the economic interests of the landed aristocracy provided both the tools and the motivations for the temporarily similar growth of a national consciousness in all Vietnamese social classes and led to the eventual political independence of Viet-Nam in the Xth century.

This political independence did not, however, lead to a rejection of Chinese social institutions nor of the continued use of written Chinese as a major underpinning of such institutions. Significantly, one of the first acts of newly established Vietnamese dynasties was the establishment of triennial literary examinations, in Chinese, for the recruitment of the civil service.[1]

Among the peasant classes, spoken Vietnamese continued to be the medium of communication.[2] We also suspect that Vietnamese had long since become the spoken language of the aristocracy, although it is conceivable that this had always been the case.[3]

Another interesting feature of the pre-French colonial language situation in Viet-Nam was the existence of a demotic script called chữ-nôm (字喃). While some Vietnamese scholars are wont to push its origins back beyond a doubtful point[4], we have some fragmentary evidence of its existence as early as the VIIIth century[5], historical references to it from the XIIIth century[6], and epigraphy from the XIVth century.[7] Chữ-nôm, a modified set of Chinese characters used to transcribe the Vietnamese vernacular, was in use for personal letters, for poetry of a more popular nature, and for introducing students to Chinese, up through the XIXth century. While its use occasionally met with Court approval, it was more often than not relegated to a very secondary rôle, disdained by the intelligenrty as uncouth.[8] Its existence was, however, another proof of the use of spoken Vietnamese in all classes of society.

We have said (p. 1) that French language policy was based in part on previous French contact with Viet-Nam. We are referring to that period between 1600 and the middle of the XIXth century when French missionaries and soldiers of forture developed an interest in promoting at first the faith of their fathers and, later on, the money of their bankers in the Indochinese peninsula. Christian missionaries, with the Frenchman Alexandre deRhodes the most important among them[9], created a romanization of the Vietnamese vernacular, later dubbed quốc-ngữ, for use in religious texts. It was later to become the standard romanization of the language throughout Viet-Nam.

While the effect, if not the intent, of the continued use of written Chinese was the linguistic isolation of the Vietnamese peasant masses from the written word, the intent, if not at first the effect, of the creation of quốc-ngữ was the spreading of the written word throughout the lowest levels of society. Quốc-ngữ was designed for the expressed purpose of Christian religious instruction; the vast majority of potential converts in Viet-Nam were drawn from the peasant classes, that is to say, those who were not generally capable of reading Chinese. As we have noted above (p. 4), there already existed a demotic transcription, chữ-nôm, but this system virtually necessitated a fair knowledge of written Chinese in order to be read; we have no reason to suppose, therefore, that chữ-nôm was widely known among the masses — the fact that the missionaries chose largely to ignore chữ-nôm[10] when looking for a medium to transmit their message would reinforce our notion that a common instrument for written communication with the peasantry was lacking in pre-French colonial Viet-Nam. But quốc-ngữ was intended by its creators as a vehicle for the transmitting of what was considered by the Vietnamese Court and intelligentry to be subversive material, i.e. a foreign ideology which could, and to some degree would, undermine the institutions of the state and the cultural paraphernalia that accompanied it. The Christian community, a small group before the XXth century, was dealt with rather firmly by Vietnamese officialdom and quốc-ngữ never gained any currency outside that community before the coming of French hegemony.

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The situation which greeted the French in 1860 when they began the conquest of Viet-Nam can be summarized as follows: 1) the Vietnamese language was spoken daily by most everyone in the country; 2) the official written language of adminstration and of literature was Chinese though it was apparently not spoken much, if at all, by ethnic Vietnamese[11]; 3) there were two transcriptions of the vernacular: one, based on Chinese characters which, though probably the more widely known of the transcriptions, found itself in limited use in literature and letters, a useful knowledge of which was probably concentrated in the main in the upper social classes; the other transcription, quốc-ngữ, a comparatively simple and accessible romanization whose currency was restricted to a small body of Vietnamese Christians.

What led the French at the outset of their colonial adventure in Viet-Nam to decide on a policy of adopting quốc-ngữ as the sole and official transcription of the Vietnamese vernacular? What were the implications and effects of that policy? How did Phạm Quỳnh become a principal instrument of that policy?

The French wished to expand, consolidate and enforce their control over Viet-Nam; to do so they needed, firstly, to subvert the authority of the Vietnamese mandarin elite, nearly 100% of which was opposed to the French presence and, secondly, to possess some means of communication with the general population other than through the mandarinate. Further, we cannot ignore the notion of the "Mission Civilisatrice" (the French equivalent of the "White Man's Burden") as an integral part of French colonial thinking which, if not a primary cause for the initiation of certain language policies, at least served them as a convenient excuse. Cultru, in his Histoire de la Cochinchine française des origines à 1883[12], and later on Osborne, in The French Presence in Cochinchina and Cambodia[12], have gone into some detail regarding French linguistic policy in the period 1859 - 1905. Marr also touches on this subject in his Vietnamese Anticolonialism.[14] Simply stated, our summary and analysis of the important features of the pre-1905 period would include these observations: the colonial administration, at first military and, following 1879, civilian, established a number of schools for the signal purpose of training a corps of French-Vietnamese interpreters-translators recruited from the local population. For a time, these schools existed alongside traditional village schools which gave instruction in Chinese characters. The administration at first tolerated the public use of Chinese and there was some debate as to the advisability of its suppression.[15] In 1878, Admiral Lafont finally decreed that the romanized transcription would be obligitory in all public acts and that the application of this decree was to begin in 1882. Because of the rather feeble number of quốc-ngữ schools, the inadequate finances and deficient staffing thereof, and the poor quality and quantity of quốc-ngữ teaching materials available, the decree of 1878 remained somewhat theoretical and even at the turn of the century it is probable that the number of Vietnamese functionally literate in quốc-ngữ did not much exceed the number who could read Chinese.

The French were active in promoting a journal in quốc-ngữ, the Gia-Định Báo, which first appeared in April of 1861 as the organ of the Sài-gòn city government. It was the only regularly published periodical in quốc-ngữ until the establishment in 1897 of the Nam Kỳ. Thereupon, several other short-lived publications appeared and always, as with the Gia-Định Báo and the Nam Kỳ, under the direction of Frenchmen.

In theory, the idea of speaking directly to the Vietnamese through the medium of a simple romanized vernacular and a thoroughly controlled press should have succeeded both in undercutting the mandarins, who still relied upon written Chinese, and in promoting a wide-spread interest in French ideas.[16] But, besides the quantitatively insufficient nature of the French effort in this domaine, there were other considerations which impeded their "œuvre." There was a natural reluctance on the part of the intelligentry to associate with the French.[17] The interpreters, therefore, were often drawn from the Catholic Vietnamese community, where some knowledge of the romanization already existed, and from the merchant or well-to-do peasant classes where a knowledge of quốc-ngữ and association with the French might give them an economic boost in life; it was not unknown for such families to hedge their bets in sending one son to quốc-ngữ school and another to a Chinese character school. By and large, the popular opinion of the interpreters could be likened to that of trustees in a jail: they were often seen as sell-outs, uncultured, petty martinets, lording it over their betters, disrupters of an ancient and divinely-ordained social system whose power derived from association with a foreign occupier. Perhaps we should not forget that Viet-Nam possessed a multi-millenary culture and that the French generally did not send their first-born sons nor their most noted humanitarians to run the colonial administration.

In sum, then, the French were headed in the direction of establishing quốc-ngữ as a functional transcription of the Vietnamese vernacular; but for the first half century of their rule in Viet-Nam, the insufficiency of their efforts combined with a certain popular resistance to change and slowed their progress.

The issue of popular resistance to quốc-ngữ went further than simple distaste for the interpreters and their ilk and the social dislocation they symbolized. Part of the "Mission Civilisatrice" was the introduction of French cultural ideas through the medium of this romanization. As was realized with dislike by a minority of French officials like Luro (see note 15) and, in fact, as was intended by policy-makers like Bonard, there existed a whole body of traditional learning written in Chinese, an understanding of which could not be gained by someone exclusively literate in quốc-ngữ. A sense of mystery and reverence, possibly aided by their arcane qualities, was attached to these traditional works whose loss implied a loss of cultural identity. Given the respect which the Vietnamese had always accorded to this body of literature and the esteem in which the educated men who could read it were held, one can more fully comprehend why knowing quốc-ngữ did not have the appeal the French hoped it would.

The protagonists of nationalism, the literati, continued to use Chinese in their anti-French tracts. We can observe that the quasi-exclusive use of Chinese by the anti-colonialist movement, while legitimizing it, may at the same time have ultimately weakened it by reducing the numbers of those who could read its propaganda. It was not until the advent of the intellectual ferment produced throughout Asia by the Russo-Japanese War of 1905 that Vietnamese nationalists began seriously to consider the advantages which the use of quốc-ngữ could offer their cause. At this point where the nationalist movement, inspired by the Japanese example, started modernizing its methods, French language policies were put to their most serious test.

In the spirit of modernization and coming to grips with the impact of Western technology, a group of nationalist leaders set up the Đông-Kinh Nghĩa-thục (東京義塾)* in Hà-nội in March, 1907. At the time, the use of quốc-ngữ was more common in southern Viet-Nam than in the North. The French had permitted the establishment in Hà-nội

*roughly, the Tongking Free School

of a few private schools furnishing instruction in French, Chinese, and quốc-ngữ to the children of the well-to-do and the purpose of these schools seems to have been to prepare their pupils for study in France. By contrast, the Đông-Kinh Nghĩa-thục sought to provide the necessary intellectual tools to those young Vietnamese who dreamed of a strong and independent future Viet-Nam. It was at the Đông-Kinh Nghĩa-thục, for the first time in the nationalist movement, that professors encouraged their students to learn quốc-ngữ and to use it as a vehicle for their new ideas.

In connexion, a journal was started which printed articles in quốc-ngữ as well as in Chinese (for older readers). The school and its journal, the Đăng-cổ Tùng-báo, began to work on the publication in quốc-ngữ and Chinese of the works of Western thinkers such as Montesquieu and Rousseau and, interestingly enough, the French authorities became decidedly nervous at this turn of events. As a countermove, they opened a school called the Học-quý Tân Trường (學貴新場) but it could not compete successfully with the Đông-Kinh Nghĩa-thục; the authorities finally closed down the latter in January, 1908, and a few months later found a pretext for jailing its founders. The success, albeit ephemeral, of the Đông-Kinh Nghĩa-thục clearly demonstrated to the French the need to take the business of education seriously in hand lest the Vietnamese themselves soon be able to develop an educational movement that would escape governmental control.

The French sought an agent for their policy of a renewed emphasis on the development of publishing in and, thereby, popularizing the romanization of the Vietnamese vernacular. They found the first such agent in a young journalist named Nguyễn văn Vĩnh.[18] Working through a French publisher named Schneider who had previous contact with Vĩnh, the authorities financed, on a contractual basis, editing a quốc-ngữ review called the Đông-Dương Tạp-chí. The goal of this publication was the neutralizing of nationalist propaganda and this goal was clearly ennunciated by Schneider in its first edition. The work of Vĩnh consisted mainly of translating into quốc-ngữ those works which "best" represented French culture. His own ideas were well-fitted to the anti-mandarinal and anti-"nho học"* bias that was intended for the journal. The format of the Đông-Dương Tạp-chí, reminiscent somewhat of the Gia-Định Báo, included news favorable to France, essays on Vietnamese culture, poetry, and translations, especially serialized episodes from Chinese adventure novels like the San Kuo Chi (三國志). It was hoped that the range of subject matter — and perhaps Vĩnh's own rather tame nationalism; he had once been associated with the Đông-Kinh Nghĩa-thục — would incite broad reader interest. In the event, it seems that it was the literary rather than the political content of the Đông-Dương Tạp-chí that was able to hold the public's attention and the publication lasted less than four years.

The colonial authorities thereupon turned to a young

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*儒學 Confucian (≅ Classical) studies

writer, working on the staff of the Đông-Dương Tạp-chí, who was to prove a most valuable asset to their policy of spreading quốc-ngữ through a controlled press. This man, Phạm Quỳnh, was both personally and politically a complex individual.[19] At first a secretary-translator at the Ecole Française d'Extrême-Orient and later a contributing editor at the Đông-Dương Tạp-chí, Phạm Quỳnh had fallen under the influence of Louis Marty, the "grand old man" of the Sûreté* in Indochina.

Originally from Toulouse, Marty was trained as a lawyer and took courses at the Ecole Coloniale before coming to Viet-Nam as an administrator. Once there, he studied both the Vietnamese language and Chinese characters. It was the scholarly Marty, amateur historian and numismatist, one of the most subtle, most faithful servants of French colonialism, who first recognized the great potential which Phạm Quỳnh offered.

The First World War marked the beginning of a campaign of French propaganda in the Far East which had as its targets the educated classes of Viet-Nam and China. French leaders thought there was a pressing need to counteract pro-German sympathy among the region's intellectuals. Louis Marty, then Director of the Bureau Politique du Gouvernement Général, had the idea of translating into Chinese, French texts on history and politics. In the name of creating a current of sympathy favorable to France and the Allied war effort, these texts were then to be fed to

*equivalent, more or less, to the secret police periodical publications in China. (The French had also managed to "buy" a few journalists in Bangkok and elsewhere). Marty turned to Phạm Quỳnh to oversee the translation of the texts in question. Marty's selection of Phạm Quỳnh had hidden objectives other than the ostensible one of making propaganda... First of all, Marty could keep a watchful eye on the work of a very intelligent young "indigène" who, if ever he were to become an enemy of the régime, might turn dangerous. In addition, Marty could begin to play the rôle of an intellectual god-father, a powerful man who, in the guise of friendship, was apt to assure and advance the career of Phạm Quỳnh to the degree that the latter proved his loyalty, not simply to France, but to his friend and mentor, i.e. Louis Marty.

In the month of September, 1917, Albert Sarraut, Governor-General of Indochina, sent to the Ministry of the Colonies in Paris a nine-page aide-mémoire in which he described the actions taken by his office to spread throughout the Far East propaganda favorable to the French position in the Great War.*

> "Au lendemain de la déclaration de guerre, la nécessité d'agir sur l'opinion publique indigène par une propagande appropriée, méthodique et permanente, apparut d'autant plus impérieuse que les Allemands avaient pris depuis plusieurs années, dans le domaine de la publicité, en Extrême-Orient, une avance considerable, et que leur propagande insidieuse atteignait profondément la collectivité annamite, par le véhicule des caractères chinois. Dans les rapports qu'ils vous ont adressés, mes prédécesseurs ont maintes fois fait allusion à l'hostilité latente que l'activité prévoyante de nos ennemis avaient réussi a déterminer contre nous, dans la plupart de milieux asiatiques,..."

*Sarraut's aide-mémoire and an accompanying aide-mémoire by Louis Marty, both of which are cited in the original hereunder, may be found in the Archives d'Outre-Mer, Paris; viz.: A. O.-M. Nouveau Fonds 11, dossier 56.

Sarraut was particularly anxious to "correct" the influence of the pro-German ideas of K'ang Yu-wei (康有爲) who was widely read not only in China but by those Vietnamese who got their new ideas through reading in Chinese.[20] In his aide-mémoire, Sarraut posed the question, "Sommes-nous maîtres de l'opinion publique indigène?" The answer to his question was obviously, "Non!"

"C'est dans ces conditions que le Gouvernement Général qui, s'était abstenu de participer financièrement (sic) à ces publications locales, a été amené à prendre l'initiative de créer une 'Revue' en langue indigène, s'adressant aux pays annamites et repondant aux buts d'éducation et de propagande que nous devons poursuivre."

The idea of founding such a publication in quốc-ngữ, to be called the <u>Nam Phong Tạp-chí</u>, doubtlessly originated in the the Bureau Politique with Louis Marty, and Sarraut attached to his aide-mémoire Marty's notes justifying the idea. The Vietnamese intelligentsia was now open to foreign influences and France risked losing what little control she had over the traditional élite; she had to create a new elite, trained in quốc-ngữ not Chinese and, at the same time, convert or discredit the old élite. Marty recognized the delicate nature of this enterprise.

"Nous sommes arrivés à une époque où l'on peut, où l'on doit même tout laisser dire dans ce pays, où le nombre de gens instruits et doués de sens critique augment chaque jour. L'essentiel est que la conclusion de nos écrits s'impose d'elle-même à l'esprit des lecteurs, soit nettement favorable a la pérennité de l'influence française. C'est le point délicat et c'est à quoi doit parer le contrôle éffectif exercé sur la revue <u>Nam Phong</u> par le Chef du Bureau Politique du Gouvernement Général qui, en est le promoteur officieux."

It was precisely for this reason that:

"Un très grand libéralisme dans le choix des sujets traités sera observé, afin de conserver à ce recueil un caractère suffisant d'indépendance et d'impartialité, sans lequel cette œuvre de propagande aurait le sort de toutes les tentatives du même genre, faites jusqu'à ce jour et qui ont échoué, à cause de la naïve et maladroite partialité administrative qui les inspirait."

As for questions of an openly political nature, Marty showed that great subtlety that was his principal arm: from the first issue of Nam Phong Tạp-chí, he cited a line (written by Phạm Quỳnh),

"Pourrons-nous songer à notre émancipation politique, à notre autonomie future tant que nos Protecteurs ne nous auront pas jugés capables de diriger nos propres affaires?"

Then Marty added for the edification of the Minister:

"Ce passage est intentionnel, soupape nécessaire pour les sentiments nationalistes qui existent et qu'il est plus habile de laisser s'exhaler que de vouloir les comprimer."

The question was where could the French find Vietnamese who were well enough educated to keep the journal functioning, clever enough and sufficiently patriotic in appearance to fight successfully against the Confucian nationalists, and yet faithful enough to France to remain politically reliable? Marty tells the Minister of his choice:

"Les deux principaux rédacteurs: M.M. PHẠM-QUỲNH et NGUYỄN-BÁ-TRÁC ont pris cette revue sous leur nom, afin qu'elle conserve aux yeux du public un caractère exclusivement indigène. Elle sort également pour la même raison des presses d'imprimerie indigène."

The Nam Phong Tạp-chí was to become the most important and the longest running (1917 - 1934) vehicle for the French policy of expanding and perfecting quốc-ngữ in this century. Later nationalists have often accused the journal and its principal editor and contributor, Phạm Quỳnh, of having put the Vietnamese people to sleep, of having redirected their enthusiasm for national emancipation. This was certainly the government's intention in founding the <u>Nam Phong Tạp-chí</u> and in putting Phạm Quỳnh at its head. His fate seems to be like that of General Pétain, at one time honored and feted (Phạm Quỳnh was Minister of Education in the Imperial Cabinet at Huế and later Prime Minister), and subsequently resolutely rejected (he was executed by the Việt Minh in 1945), possibly for good reason in both cases. The factors aside from his own considerable literary talents which conjoined to thrust him into the public arena at a very young age are now clear. As of 1917, the authorities put at his disposal a powerful journal, one whose finances they underwrote and whose distribution they assured thus protecting him from competition and giving him the cachet of official respectability.

Phạm Quỳnh's critics, and they are legion, reproach him with having favored modernization through collaboration with France, weakening true national interests by preaching false nationalism. They say he favored reactionary French philosophers and writers like Maurras and Barrès, and this is undeniable. At best he often showed an incredible naïveté, in thinking, for example, that the colonial authorities were ready for local educational autonomy[21], or that France, grateful for Vietnamese sacrifices during World War I, proposed to install a true protectorate[22], or, again, once a high educational level became generalized in Viet-Nam, that France intended to recognize Vietnamese independence.[23]

To declare, however, that Phạm Quỳnh was a simple puppet of the French would be a gross oversimplification because this would mean that he was a passive individual, responding to command. On the contrary, a quick perusal of his writings, be it in Vietnamese or in French, show him to be a highly intelligent man, actively pursuing a course of action he believed to be useful and necessary. How was a mind of this calibre turned to the profit of French colonialism and, especially, its not disinterested language policies?

Louis Marty probably understood Phạm Quynh as well as anyone, maybe better than Phạm Quỳnh himself, for he knew that if inner conflict arose between Phạm Quỳnh's two chief qualities, the love of ideas for their own sake (the intellectual self) and rigid, authoritarian, personal loyalism, atavistically Confucian, (the moral self), then the moral considerations would out. Thus was Louis Marty able to play Iago to Pham Quynh's Othello.*

*there is some evidence to suggest that Marty also tried to play this role vis-à-vis Võ Nguyên Giáp as a young man. The future General Giáp must have been made of sterner stuff.

N O T E S O N T E X T

1.) viz., inter alia, Lê Thành Khôi, Le Viêt-Nam, histoire et civilisation, Paris, 1955, pp. 148-149; the original references will be found in Ngô Sĩ Liên (吳士連), Đại-Việt Sử-ký Toàn-thư (大越史記全書), "Lý Nhân Tôn (李仁宗)" quyển III: this is a XVIIth century text.

2.) This is evidenced by a long tradition of oral literature, the "tục-ngữ (俗語)" or proverbs, the "ca-dao (歌謠)" or folksongs, as well as folk tales, some of which were written down in Chinese as early as the XIVth century; viz., Việt-điện U Linh tập (越甸幽靈集), 1329; Lĩnh-nam Trích Quái (嶺南摭怪), 1492 or 1493?.

3.) A very large number of lexical items filtered down to Vietnamese and this group of items was not restricted to words in technical or literary usage. The process we suppose took place during the earliest period was that of intermingling spoken Vietnamese and Chinese, first at the lower levels of the intelligentry and slowly reaching up to the Court as it became more isolated from metropolitan China. Ath the same time there may have been created a pidginized Chinese used by villagers in their contacts with officialdom, particularly during the period of direct Chinese rule, and with Chinese traders and drifters. The result was the creation of the basic modern Vietnamese lexicon which received infusions of new Chinese terms now and again as monks, scholars, and traders sojourned abroad. Thus we find a variety of modern pronunciations of the same originally Chinese lexical item in Vietnamese (e.g. "dùng" or "dụng" for 用 ; "vì" or "vị" for 為 ; "ghế" or "kỷ" for 几 , etc.) and we can infer that certain items were reintroduced at different times in history or with different Chinese regional pronunciations.

4.) cf. Bửu Cầm, "Nguồn gốc chữ-nôm," *Văn-hóa Nguyệt-san*, 1960, pp. 347-355.

5.) i.e. in 791, a certain Phùng Hưng (馮興) revolted against the Chinese and took the reign title of Bố-Cái Đại-Vương (布蓋大王). In this instance "bố-cái" means "father and mother (of his people)" and is a use of Chinese characters to represent Vietnamese vernacular lexical items. viz., *Toàn-thư*, "Kỷ thuộc Tùy-Đường", quyển V.

6.) The poet Nguyễn Thuyên (阮詮), later called Hàn Thuyên (韓詮), was supposed to have composed poetry in chữ-nôm in his *Phi-sa tập* (披沙集), in the later half of the XIIIth century. viz., *Toàn-thư*, "Trần Nhân Tôn (陳仁尊)", quyển V. The *Phi-sa tập* has long since been lost.

7.) The stele of Hồ-thành-sơn (護城山) in Ninh-Bình province, dating from 1343, contains some twenty-odd village names in chữ-nôm. viz., H. Maspero, "Etude sur la phonétique historique de la langue vietnamienne," *Bulletin de l'Ecole Française de l'Extrême-Orient*, tome XII, no. 1, p. 7.

8.) For a fuller discussion of chữ-nôm viz., inter alia, S. O'Harrow, *L'histoire socio-littéraire de la langue vietnamienne*, (MS. Sorbonne, Bibliothèque de l'Institut National des Langues et Civilisations Orientales), pp. 14 - 38.

9.) Father Alexandre deRhodes, 1591-1660(?), a Spanish Jew by ancestry, a papal subject by birth and residence (born March 15th, 1591, at Avignon, in the shadow of the palace of the Popes Clement), and a Frenchman in all other respects, is sometimes erroniously credited (as per E. Gaspardone, "L'histoire de la philologie indochinoise," *Dân Việt-Nam*, no. 2, December, 1948, p. 15) with having created the quốc-ngữ romanized alphabet. he did, however, the major work of codifying and rationalizing this transcription, Thanh-Lãng's objections in *Bảng Lược Đồ Văn-học Việt-Nam*, vol. I, p. 381, notwithstanding.

10.) A few Christian religious texts are found in chữ-nôm, cf. MS. by Girolamo Mayorca (1634 or 1635) in the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris.

11.) There was a growing community of unassimilated and semi-assimilated ethnic Chinese in Viet-Nam at this point but they seem to have had little linguistic effect on the general population and, to the extent they considered themselves to be Chinese, the French colonial authorities treated them as a group apart.

12.) Paris, 1910, q.v.

13.) Ithaca, New York, 1969, q.v.

14.) Berkeley, California, 1971, q.v.

15.) Some like Admiral Bonard, felt the use of Chinese characters to be incompatible with progress and that French ideas could not be transmitted thereby. Others, such as Luro and Philiastre, felt that the abolition of Chinese characters would provoke "la chute morale de l'éducation vietnamienne." viz., O'Harrow, <u>op. cit</u>., p. 70.

16.) A few complete books in quốc-ngữ were also published such as those by Trương Vĩnh Ký, but, when compared with the quantity of available literature in Chinese, they were but a drop in the bucket.

17.) This was more noticeable in the central and northern sections of the country where the French ruled through the Protectorate than in Cochinchina where they had installed a direct colonial government and where the classical tradition was less firmly implanted.

18.) Nguyễn văn Vĩnh was born April 30th, 1882, in the village of Phương-đức, province of Hà-Đông. He passed the examinations of the Collège des Interpretes at the extraordinary age of ten. Because of his young age, he was kept at school until 1896 when he took the exams a second time and graduated first in his class. He first served as Secrétaire de Résidence at Lao-kay, then at the Tribunal of Hải-phòng. After having visited the Marseilles Exposition in 1906, he left governmental service to go into the printing business with a Frenchman named Dufour. In 1907, he took over as editor of the new Đại-Nam Đồng-văn Nhật-báo which, in collaboration with the Đông-Kinh Nghĩa-thục, was later to become the Đăng-cổ Tùng-báo. At this time he used the nom de plume of "Tân Nam-tử (新南子 — The New Vietnamese Man)". He later published Notre Journal (1908, in French), Notre Revue (1910, also in French). Vĩnh became well known for his quốc-ngữ translations of such French works as Manon Lescaut, Gil Blas, and Les Trois Mousquetaires, as well as plays by Molière and the Fables of la Fontaine, etc. He believed totally in the importance of quốc-ngữ and is remembered for having said, "The future of our country depends on the future of quoc-ngu," (Nước Nam ta mai sau hay dở ở như chữ quốc-ngữ), a phrase often repeated later by Phạm Quỳnh. Vĩnh had a strange, mercurial side to his nature; he was one of the earlier Vietnamese Freemasons and he ultimately died searching for gold in Laos.

19.) Thanks to the generous coöperation of Phạm Quỳnh's daughter, Mme. Phạm thị Ngoạn, we have been able to learn something of his early life. Phạm Quỳnh (范瓊) was born December 7th, 1892, in Hà-nội, to Phạm Hữu Điển (范有典) and Vũ thị Đoan (武氏端). His family came from Lương-ngọc (良玉) in the province of Hải-Dương. His mother died less than a year after his birth, followed by his father in 1900. Raised from the age of nine by his grandmother, he entered the Collège du Protectorat where he graduated first in the Class of 1908. He was apparently enrolled in Paul Beau's University of Indochina until its suppression, following the Đề Thám revolt. He may have had some contact with the Đông-Kinh Nghĩa-thục but until Louis Marty's personal papers can be inspected we shall not know know where to look for evidence of this possibility. At the age of sixteen he became a fonctionnaire, attached to the Ecole Française d'Extrême-Orient. In 1909, Phạm Quỳnh married Lê thị Vân (黎氏雲) and the first of their thirteen children, a son, was born in 1911. In spite of his schooling, Phạm Quỳnh was primarily a self-taught man. It was while working at the Ecole Française that he perfected his knowledge of Chinese and he published his first know written work, "Deux oraisons funebres," in the Bulletin de l'Ecole Française d'Extrême-Orient, tome XIV, vol. 5, pp. 41-55.

20.) The French colonial government banned the importation to Indochina of books in Chinese after November 6th, 1914. This ban was most difficult to enforce.

21.) O'Harrow, op. cit., pp. 146-147 and 176.

22.) Ibid., pp. 176-177.

23.) Even Varenne, the so-called "socialist" Governor-General, wished to disabuse Phạm Quỳnh of this preconception. viz., "Hai bài diễn-thuyết về chính-sách 'Pháp-Việt Hợp-tác'", Nam Phong, tome XVIII, no. 105, April, 1926, pp. 237-246.

AREAL LINGUISTIC AND CULTURAL FEATURES IN THE SOUTHEAST ASIAN PENINSULA

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0. Introduction

The purpose of this paper is to present some common linguistic features in Cambodian, Cantonese, Lao, Thai, and Vietnamese on the clause level, and to posit the hypothesis that these areal linguistic features display remarkable similarities of speech habits, culture, and thought of the people speaking the language.

On the theoretical linguistics ground, this analysis of clauses and cases in the Southeast Asian languages will make an attempt to utilize both tagmemics (Brend 1970, 1972a, and 1972b, Cook 1969, Longacre 1964, Pike 1954, 1955, 1960, 1966, and 1971) and a case grammar model (Fillmore 1968, 1969, and 1971) called lexicase (Manley 1972, Starosta 1971a, 1971b, 1972a, 1972b, and 1972c, Taylor 1972). Such an eclectic combination of the two theories is not new either in the field of general linguistics (Cook 1970, 1971a, 1971b, and 1972, Heidi Platt 1970, John T. Platt 1971) or in Southeast Asian linguistic analysis (Liem 1971a, 1971b, 1972a, and 1973).

In that this paper is tagmemically oriented, it recognizes firstly the hierarchical levels in syntax and secondly the grammatical unit or tagmeme as composed of a slot and a filler class.

The concept of hierarchies in syntax makes it possible to single out the clause level for this paper, and consequently it is unnecessary to write phrases structure rules (Chomsky 1965). The grammatical slot of the tagmeme at the clause level has been pointed out by Becker (Becker 1967a and 1967b), Fries (Fries 1970), and Young, Becker, and Pike (Young, Becker, and Pike 1970) as having not only the overt syntactic relationships (case realization) but also the covert meaning relationships (case relations) with the predicative verb.

In that this paper is also case grammar oriented, it recognizes the centrality of the verb (Chafe 1970) and the case relations between various nouns and the predicative verb in the clause (or proposition in Fillmore's terminology). The type of case grammar as utilized here introduces both overt case realizations and covert case relations into the grammar as syntactic features assigned to nouns by verbs (Starosta 1971a, 1971b, 1972a, and 1972b).

Because this paper intends to present linguistic data rather than to defend the models utilized, theoretical discussions will be kept to their absolute minimum. Also, in order to shorten the paper, examples will be given only in one language at a time.

1. Case Relations and Case realizations

In each of the Southeast Asian languages under consideration, there seem to be twelve case relations whose definitions are taken from Fillmore (Fillmore 1968, 1969, and 1971) whenever necessary:

The AGENTIVE (AGT) case: the AGT actant is the "instigator of the event".

The OBJECTIVE (OBJ) case: the OBJ actant is the "most neutral" actant.

The DATIVE (DAT) case: the case of the "animated being affected by by the state of, or experiencing the action of the verb".

The BENEFACTIVE (BEN) case: the BEN actant receives the benefit of the action identified by the verb.

The COMITTATIVE (COM) case: the COM actant accompanies another actant in the verbal activity or state described.

The INSTRUMENTAL (INS) case.

The LOCATIVE (LOC) case: the LOC actant indicates the location.

The DIRECTIONAL (DIR) case.

The TIME (TIM) case.

The SOURCE (SRC) case.

The GOAL (GOAL) case: the GOAL actant indicates the location or time toward which action occurs.

The EXTENT (EXT) case: the EXT actant indicates the space or time through which action or state identified by the verb has occurred.

The twelve covert case relations are pigeon-holed in eleven overt case realizations of which some are marked by their positions vis-a-vis the verb, some by prepositions in the languages. The case realizations are:

NM Nominative position immediately preceding the verb, no prepositions.

O Objective position immediately following the verb, no prepositions.

D Dative realization with prepositions.

I Instrumental realization with prepositions.

B Benefactive realization with prepositions.

C Comitative realization with prepositions.

L Locative realization with prepositions.

Di Directional realization with prepositions.

SR Source realization with prepositions.

GL Goal realization with prepositions.

Ex Extent realization with prepositions.

The twelve covert case relations and the eleven case realizations can be charted in a two-dimensional matrix yielding twenty five possibilities as in Chart I below:

CHART I

CASE REALIZATIONS AND CASE RELATIONS

		1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11
		NM	O	D	B	C	I	L	Di	SR	GL	EX
1	ACT	1										
2	OBJ	2	6									
3	DAT	3	7	15								
4	BEN		8	16	17							
5	COM					18						
6	INS	4	9				19					
7	LOC	5	10					20				
8	DIR		11						22			
9	TIM		12									
10	SRC							21		23		
11	GOAL		13								24	
12	EXT		14									25

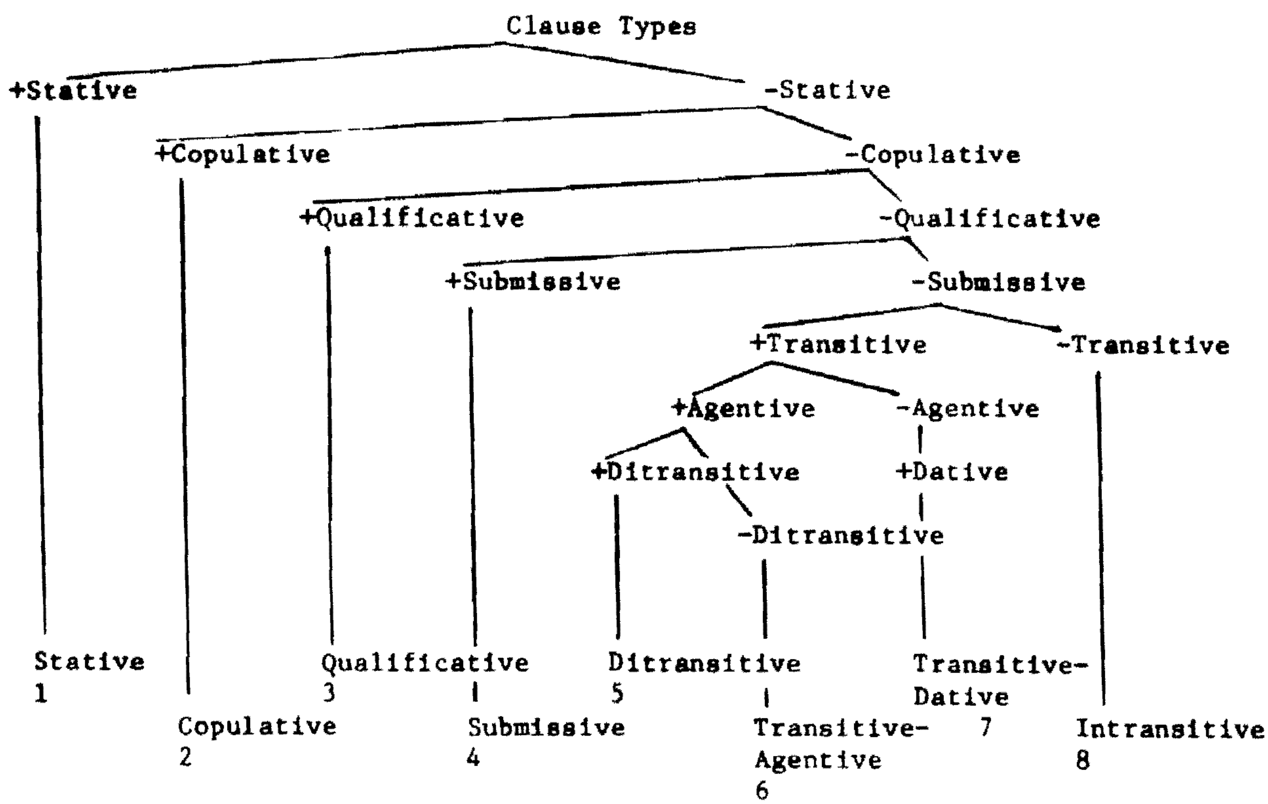
The twenty five possible combinations of covert case relations and overt case realizations constitute the twenty five tagmemic slots on the clause level in the languages. Of direct relevance to the thesis of this paper on the possible relationships between the Southeast Asian languages and their cultures and thought are the tagmemic slots 1 [+NM, +AGT], 2 [+NM, +OBJ], 3 [+NM, +DAT], 4 [+NM, +INS], 5 [+NM, +LOC], 6 [+O, +OBJ], 7 [+O, +DAT], 8 [+O, +BEN], 9 [+O, +INS], 10 [+O, +LOC], 11 [+O, +DIR], and 13 [+O, +GOAL]. Discussions on and examples of these tagmemic slots will be found under the following heading "Clause Types".

2. Clause Types

According to their identificational-contrastive features such as the nuclear tagmemic slots they are hospitable to and their transform potential (Longacre 1964), clauses in each of the Southeast Asian languages can be classified into eight types as in Chart II.

CHART II

CLAUSE TYPES



1. Stative Clause Type. The Stative Clause Type has a stative verb meaning 'have' (Cambodian mʔiən, Cantonese yáuh, Lao and Thai mii, and Vietnamese có), and an Objective case realization and OBJECTIVE case relation [+O, +OBJ]. Cambodian example:

mʔiən	kòon	sèh	pii	neək	There were two students.
have	child	pupil	two	person	
[+verb, +stative]	[+O, +OBJ]				

2. Copulative Clause Type. The Copulative Clause Type has a copulative verb, a Nominative case realization and OBJECTIVE case relation [+NM, +OBJ], and a case-unmarked slot [-K]. The copula means 'be' (Cambodian cʔiə, Cantonese haih, Lao and Thai pen, and Vietnamese là). Cantonese example:

keúìi	haih	hohk-saàng	He is a student.
he	be	student	
[+NM, +OBJ]	[+verb, +cop]	[-K]	

3. Qualificative Clause Type. The Qualificative Clause Type has a qualificative adjective verb, and a Nominative case realization and OBJECTIVE case relation [+NM, +OBJ]. Lao example:

khǎw	kèŋ	He is intelligent.
he	intelligent.	
[+NM, +OBJ]	[+verb, +qual]	

4. Submissive Clause Type. The Submissive Clause Type has a submissive verb, a Nominative case realization and DATIVE case relation [+NM, +DAT], and an Objective case realization and OBJECTIVE case relation [+O, +OBJ]. The class of submissive verbs is limited to a closed list in each language, and its representative member

means 'be adversely affected' (Cambodian <u>ttúuət</u>, Cantonese <u>béi</u>, Lao and Thai <u>thuúk</u> and <u>thɯɯk</u>, and Vietnamese bị). Thai example:

laáw thɯɯk kʰacàw tii He was beaten by them

he affected they beat

$\begin{bmatrix}+NM\\+DAT\end{bmatrix} \begin{bmatrix}+verb\\+subm\\+adverse\end{bmatrix} \begin{bmatrix}+O\\+OBJ\end{bmatrix}$

It is noted that the [+O, +OBJ] slot here is always filled by a clause, and never by a noun.

5. <u>Ditransitive (Agentive) Clause Type</u>. The Ditransitive Clause Type has a ditransitive verb (which can also be used monotransitively), a Nominative case realization and AGENTIVE case relation [+NM, +AGT], an Objective case realization and either DATIVE or BENEFACTIVE case relation [+O, +DAT] or [+O, +BEN], and an Objective case realization and OBJECTIVE case relation [+O, +OBJ]. Vietnamese example:

ông ấy cho tôi sách He gave me books.

he give I book

$\begin{bmatrix}+NM\\+AGT\end{bmatrix} \begin{bmatrix}+verb\\+trans\\+dat\end{bmatrix} \begin{bmatrix}+O\\+DAT\end{bmatrix} \begin{bmatrix}+O\\+OBJ\end{bmatrix}$

6. <u>Transitive-Agentive Clause Type</u>. The Transitive-Agentive Clause Type has a transitive-agentive verb, a Nominative case realization and AGENTIVE case relation [+NM, +AGT], and an Objective case realization and OBJECTIVE case relation [+O, +OBJ]. Cambodian example:

koət sii baaj He eats rice.

he eat rice

$\begin{bmatrix}+NM\\+AGT\end{bmatrix} \begin{bmatrix}+verb\\+trans\end{bmatrix} \begin{bmatrix}+O\\+OBJ\end{bmatrix}$

7. <u>Transitive-Dative Clause Type</u>. The Transitive-Dative Clause Type has a transitive-dative verb, a Nominative case realization and DATIVE case relation [+NM, +DAT], and an Objective case realization and OBJECTIVE case relation [+O, +OBJ]. Vietnamese example:

ông ấy biết chuyện đó — He knows that matter.

he know story that

$\begin{bmatrix}+NM\\+DAT\end{bmatrix} \begin{bmatrix}+verb\\+trans\\-agent\end{bmatrix} \begin{bmatrix}+O\\+OBJ\end{bmatrix}$

8. <u>Intransitive Clause Type</u>. The Intransitive Clause Type has an intransitive verb, a Nominative case realization and OBJECTIVE case relation [+NM, +OBJ], and optionally an Objective case realization and either LOCATIVE, DIRECTIONAL, or GOAL case relation [+O, +LOC], [+O, +DIR], or [+O, +GOAL]. Cantonese examples:

keúih hái heùng góng — He stays in Hongkong.

he be at Hongkong

$\begin{bmatrix}+NM\\+OBJ\end{bmatrix} \begin{bmatrix}+verb\\-trans\\+loc\end{bmatrix} \begin{bmatrix}+O\\+LOC\end{bmatrix}$

keúih heui heùng góng — He goes to Hongkong.

he go Hongkong

$\begin{bmatrix}+NM\\+OBJ\end{bmatrix} \begin{bmatrix}+verb\\-trans\\+dir\end{bmatrix} \begin{bmatrix}+O\\+DIR\end{bmatrix}$

keúih dou heùng góng — He arrives in Hongkong.

he arrive Hongkong

$\begin{bmatrix}+NM\\+OBJ\end{bmatrix} \begin{bmatrix}+verb\\-trans\\+goal\end{bmatrix} \begin{bmatrix}+O\\+GOAL\end{bmatrix}$

3. Clause Classes

Besides the dimension of Clause Types, there is also the dimension of Clause Classes. There are eleven common Clause Classes in Cambodian, Cantonese, Lao, Thai, and Vietnamese stated in Chart III below.

1. Declarative Clause Class. The Declarative Clause Class is the kernel from which all the other Clause Classes can be derived when appropriate transform rules (Longacre 1964) are applied. All the examples given so far are declarative clauses.

2. Imperative Clause Class. The clauses in the Imperative Class are identified by their imperative Predicate. Cambodian example:

khom	tə́əw	Please come.
try	come	
	[+imp]	

3. Alternative Interrogative Clause Class. The clauses in the Alternative Interrogative Class have one of their tagmemes alternated by a similar one. Cantonese example:

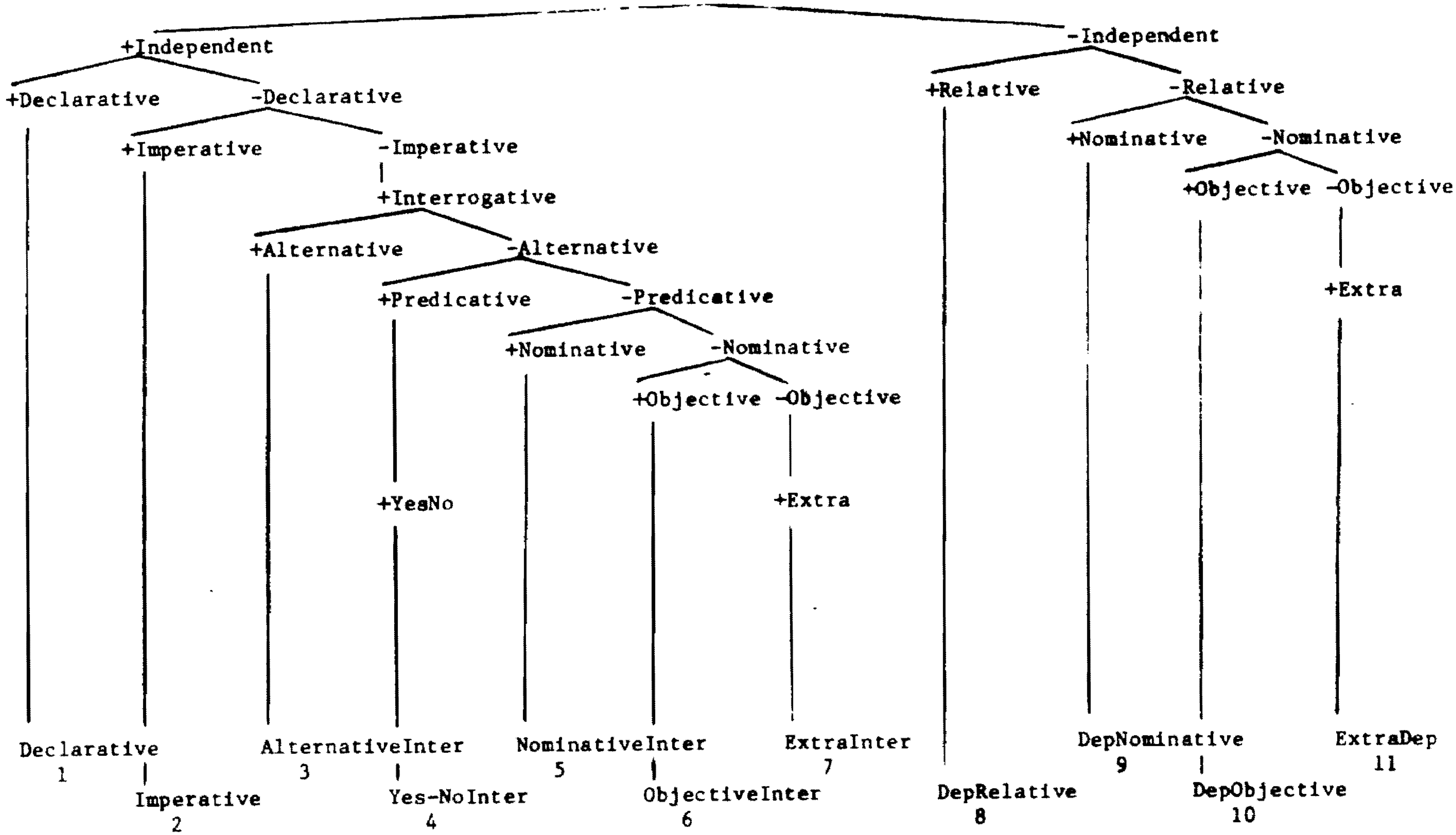
néi	heui	keúih	heui	a	Are you going or is he going?
you	go	he	go	question.	
[+NM +OBJ]		[+NM +OBJ]			

4. Yes-No Interrogative Clause Class. The clauses in the Yes-No Interrogative Class are characterized by the presence of a negative particle at the end. Being the affirmative counterparts of the negative particle, the clauses themselves can only be affirmative. Lao example:

càw	si	paj	bɔɔ	Are you going?
you	future	go	no	
[+declar +affirm]			[+neg]	

CHART III

CLAUSE CLASSES



5. Nominative Interrogative Clause Class. The clauses in the Nominative Interrogative Class have an interrogative Nominative actant. Thai example:

khraj	paj	Who went?
who	go	
[+NM +OBJ +inter]		

6. Objective Interrogative Clause Class. The clauses in the Objective Interrogative Class have an interrogative Objective actant. Vietnamese example:

ông	ấy	mua	gì	What did he buy?
he		buy	what	
			[+O +OBJ +inter]	

7. Extra Interrogative Clause Class. The clauses in the Extra Interrogative Class have an interrogative satellite actant, for example LOCATION, DIRECTION, or TIME. Cambodian example:

koət	tśəw	(tI)	naa	Where did he go?
he	go	place	where	
			[+O +LOC +inter]	

8. Dependent Relative Clause Class. The clauses in the Dependent Relative Class have the form of an Independent Declarative clause, and can optionally be introduced by the relative introducer meaning 'that'. Cantonese example:

(ngo	ji)	keúih	heuI-jó	(I know) he went.
I	know	he	went.	
		[+O +OBJ +clause]		

9. Dependent Nominative Clause Class. The clauses in the Dependent Nominative Class have their Nominative case realization either omitted or filled by a pronoun meaning 'that, who, which'. Lao example:

(khɔj huù) waa mɛɛn phə̆j paj (I know) who went.

I know that right who go

$$\begin{bmatrix} +\mathrm{O} \\ +\mathrm{OBJ} \\ +\mathrm{clause} \\ +\mathrm{dep} \\ +\mathrm{NM} \end{bmatrix}$$

10. Dependent Objective Clause Class. The clauses in the Dependent Objective Class have their Objective case realization either omitted or filled by a pronoun meaning 'that, who(m), which'. Thai example:

(rúu) waa kháw súɯ ʔaraj (I know) what he bought.

know that he buy what.

11. Extra Dependent Clause Class. The clauses in the Extra Dependent Class fill a satellite tagmemic slot in the embedding clause. Vietnamese example of Time Extra Dependent Clause:

(Ông ấy đi) khi tôi đi. He went when I went.

he go when I go

4. Culture, Thought, and Clauses and Cases

For scholars such as Sapir (Sapir 1936), Whorf (Whorf 1956), and Pike (Pike 1954, 1955, and 1960), language is not a self-contained system, the behavior aspects are closely related to linguistic aspects, and language is viewed as being only one part of a larger totality of a structured human behavior. On the one hand, language is inextricably integrated in other aspects of this behavior totality, and on the other hand, language constitutes a significant part of this total behavior. Since language is considered as being in relation to other aspects of behavior, and since the totality of structured human behavior is what culture is, language is then closely related to culture. Furthermore, not only the inter-relationship between language and culture is posited by the behaviorists, the inter-influence between language and thought is also firmly believed to exist, as Sapir says (Sapir 1931):

> "It is quite an illusion to imagine that one adjusts to reality essentially without the use of language and that language is merely an incidental means of solving specific problems of communication or reflection. The fact of the matter is that the 'real world' is to a large extent unconsciously built upon the language habits of the group".

The analysis of cases and clauses in Cambodian, Cantonese, the two sister languages Lao and Thai, and Vietnamese, in spite of the fact that these languages are unrelated and originally dissimilar, shows remarkable linguistic similarities and speech habits which could very well denote areal culture and thought patterns. Following, common linguistic features which differ these languages from an Indo-European language such as English will be pointed out, and attempts will be made to link the areal linguistic features to regional patterns of culture or thought whenever plausible.

On the clause type dimension, the following similarities can be found among the Southeast Asian languages:

(1) The Stative Clause Type in the languages does not have a dummy grammatical Nominative case realization (grammatical subject) such as *there* in the clause *there are students* in English.

(2) The Qualificative Clause Type in the languages does not have to have a copulative verb such as *be* in the English clause *he is intelligent*.

(3) The Submissive Clause Type strikingly differs the languages from English. It always denotes an effect. The Nominative DATIVE actant is either adversely or favorably affected by the action of the verb. On the

contrary, there is no neutral passive clause type in these languages that is parallel to the English construction *John was given a book.* This linguistic particular feature could very well be the result of sociolinguistic factors which dictate a formalised connotation of either adverse or favorable effect of the action of the verb on the Nominative DATIVE case. The feature could also very well influence the thought process through a positive effect when one thinks of the DATIVE case as being realized on the surface structure as a Nominative case marker.

It is also noted that, while the rest of the languages have only a passive Sumissive Clause Type, Vietnamese has a passive as well as an active Submissive Clause Type as the following two examples demonstrate:

Ông ấy bị (họ) đánh. — He was beaten (by them).

he adversely-affected (they) beat — (ie he was adversely affected by the fact that they beat him).

$\begin{bmatrix}\text{+NM}\\ \text{+DAT}\end{bmatrix}$ $\begin{bmatrix}\text{+verb}\\ \text{+subm}\\ \text{+adverse}\end{bmatrix}$ $\begin{bmatrix}\text{+O}\\ \text{+OBJ}\end{bmatrix}$ — (See also Liem 1969).

Ông ấy bị đi. — He was forced to go.

he adversely-affected go — (ie he was adversely affected by the fact that he had to go).

$\begin{bmatrix}\text{+NM}\\ \text{+DAT}\end{bmatrix}$ $\begin{bmatrix}\text{+verb}\\ \text{+subm}\\ \text{+adverse}\end{bmatrix}$ $\begin{bmatrix}\text{+O}\\ \text{+OBJ}\end{bmatrix}$

Along with the Submissive Clause Types, the languages can also use the active transitive construction to denote a neutral passive meaning, but the construction is used only with inanimate Nominatives, a fact that proves once again that the Submissive Clause Type is closely related to culture and thought patterns. Vietnamese example:

Nhà này bán — This house is being sold.

house this sell

$\begin{bmatrix}\text{+NM}\\ \text{+OBJ}\end{bmatrix}$ $\begin{bmatrix}\text{+verb}\\ \text{+trans}\end{bmatrix}$

(4) The Intransitive Clause Type has its LOCATIVE, DIRECTIONAL, or GOAL case relations covertly realized as an Objective slot, as the Cantonese examples on page 8 show.

(5) All the nominal tagmemes, whether nuclear such as the Nominatives [+NM, +AGT], [+NM, +OBJ], or [+NM, +DAT], or objectives such as [+O, +OBJ], [+O, +LOC], etc., or satellite such as the Time [+T, +TIM], etc., are optional when they are clearly understood in larger linguistic units than the clause itself. For example, a Thai will say paj 'go', meaning he did go in answer to a question 'Did you go to shool?'. This optionality of all the nominal tagmemes could very well be due to a culture trait of the region, in that one ought to avoid using the first personal pronoun 'I' as much as possible. Furthermore, the choice of personal pronouns is a complicated matter involving the relative social status, age, relationship, etc. between the interlocutors. Thus, to avoid making social blunders in the use of the wrong pronouns, one could usually just omit the second personal pronoun when addressing to somebody whose rank, age, profession, or relationship with oneself has not yet been clearly established in the conversation.

(6) Topicalization is possible for any nominal tagmeme. The process of topicalization is that of placing the tagmeme at the beginning of the clause. This process could be related to a pattern of thought centered around a topic one wants to talk about and a complement or what one wants to say about the topic. Cantonese example:

ni	bún	syù	(haih)	(ngó)	kàhm	yaht	maai	ge
the	volume	book	(which)	(I)	yesterday		buy	relative marker

Topicalized$\begin{bmatrix}+O \\ +OBJ\end{bmatrix}$ This book, I bought it yesterday.

(7) Tagmemic repetition. In all the Southeast Asian languages, tagmemes can be repeated in the form of rows of words or expressions which convey more or less the same idea but which support one another in achieving either stylistic embellishment or phonetic rhythm. These repetitions are not only found in literary styles but also in ordinary speech, and are quite common among the speech of people of all walks of life. Thai example from Nacaskul (Nakaskul 1973):

catham ʔəray cɔŋ <u>phínít</u> <u>phícaːrənaː</u> hây <u>ləʔìət</u> <u>ləʔɔː</u> <u>thì thûən kɔ̀ːn</u>

'Before doing anything, you should <u>examine</u> it <u>thoroughly</u>'.

phínít	'to examine'
phícaːrənaː	'to examine'
ləʔìət	'fine, thorough, all through'
ləʔɔː	'fine, thorough'
thì thûən	'thorough, fine'

In the example above, the verbs and manner expressions occur in rows. Not only these types of repetitiond or elaborations for embellishments or harmony are realized on the clause level, they are also frequent on the phrase in the form of four-syllable expressions (Liem 1972b), reduplications, and alliterations. All these elaborations are common linguistic features of the region, and very likely reflect the common cultural and psychological traits of the area.

On the clause class dimension, the following similarities can be found among the Southeast Asian languages:

(1) In imperative clauses, the Nominative is usually present and is usually filled by title or honorific nouns. The use of honorific or title nouns in imperative clauses is definitely a cultural trait of the region.

It proves that social class, profession and the like are important factors to be considered in any human relations. Cantonese example:

wòhng gìngléih heui lā   Manager Wong, go!

Wong manager go imperative-form

(2) The Alternative Interrogative Clause Class is much more frequently used in the Southeast Asian languages than in English. In fact, instead of asking a question *How tall is Mr. Wong?*, one usually asks the question literally meaning *How tall how short is Mr. Wong?* in which the interrogative form is an alternation between two contrasting adjectives. One can reasonably think that such interrogative forms do influence the thought pattern of the speakers.

(3) The Yes-No Interrogative Clause, being an alternative question of choice between the positive and the negative sides of the fact, can only have its form affirmative. Vietnamese example:

Ông đi không?   Are you going (Mr.)?

Mr. go no

[+affirm] [+neg]

This form of yes-no question, and the realization-nonrealization (literally *yet not yet* question) in Lao, Thai, and Vietnamese but not occurring in Cambodian could very likely influence the thought pattern of the speakers in that when they set to ask a yes-no question, they are really asking a factual question, something very similar to the English question *When did you stop beating your wife?*

(4) The word order is always Nominative Predicate Objective no matter whether the clause is independent declarative, interrogative, or dependent.

The linguistic analysis above does indeed point out many linguistic and cultural similarities reflecting a common heritage in the way of thinking and living of the people of the region. It is the belief of the author that on any other linguistic hierarchies such as the sentence, paragraph, or discourse, many more common areal linguistic features will be found to reflect the close cultural interchange in the region.

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THE USES OF INFORMAL LANGUAGE IN THE INDONESIAN PRESS

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Most students of Indonesian are quickly made aware that there are serious stylistic differences within the spoken language. These differences are a reflection in some way of the differing social situations in which they are used. Any student of the language who has not learned this beforehand gets a rude shock almost as soon as he comes in contact with groups of Indonesians speaking in a variety of natural situations as opposed to the unnatural one found in the classroom.

For the purposes of this talk I would like to make a rather arbitrary two way cut of the style spectrum into a formal and an informal style--though it is clear that there exist other style levels as well and intermediate steps between the two extremes. Two questions immediately come to mind concerning these styles: what are the characteristics which differentiate them from each other and secondly under what circumstances are they used in conversations and between which speakers? The first question is much easier to answer than the second. Much more work needs to be done _in_ Indonesia in a wide variety of settings and situations with speakers of differing social statuses in order to determine the social correlates of these style differences.

In this talk today I would like to examine only the uses of informal style in the current Indonesian press. I hope this will give us some insight into how these styles are used conversationally since it is reasonable to believe that written differences reflect at least some spoken differences. I also think the results will be interesting in themselves.

Informal style largely consists of borrowings into Indonesian of certain characteristics of Jakarta Malay--another dialect of the same language as Indonesian but one with its own rather peculiar history. To a lesser extent we also find features of Javanese and Sundanese, other languages spoken on Java. Influences from Chinese and other Indonesian languages such as Balinese generally come through Jakarta Malay. Thus what I am calling informal Indonesian is an Indonesian influenced by the dialect of part of the population of Jakarta. It is not equivalent to this dialect, however, as many Indonesians believe.

The division that I am making into informal and formal style is not a sharp one, but rather one based on an accumulation of features--it is quite possible, for example, for informal words to be used in a formal context for certain effects. Generally, however, whole discourses, e.g. the same speaker, or the same subject matter, are formal on the one hand, or have a lot of informal elements on the other hand. That is to say, the speaker or writer makes sure to use enough of them to let you know which style he is using. Regardless then of the unclear line of demarkation, speakers are very conscious of the distinction. Some of the features which mark off informal Indonesian from other styles are as follows: a large number of lexical items, a few examples are: negatives *nggak*, *ndak* or *kagak* for formal *tidak*, certain pronouns--some e.g. of Chinese origin, 1st sing. *gua*, 2nd sg. *lu*. There are also different pronunciations of some lexical items, e.g. *belon* for *belum* 'not yet', *disono* for *disana* 'over there'. Many items have schwa in the final syllable instead of formal *a*, e.g. *puter* for *putar* 'to turn', *cepet* for *cepat* 'fast'; loss of initial *s* on some words, e.g. *aja* for *saja* 'just, only', *ama* for *sama* 'with, to', final é for standard final a, e.g. *apé* for *apa* 'what'. Also characteristic of informal language are a half a dozen or so particles which indicate the speaker's attitude toward his utterance and/or toward the addressee. Most of these have no equivalent in formal language. Phonologically we find, for example, the presence of glottal stop at the end of many words where the formal language has a vowel, and quite common is the loss of *h* in most positions.

The phonology of the most common verbal prefix, *meng-*, is quite different in informal Indonesian; to give only one example, for roots with initial *c* in informal style the prefix is ñ with loss of the initial *c*, whereas in formal style it is *men-*. Loss of the initial *me-* of this prefix in certain environments is also very common in informal style. We also find a number of affixes which do not occur in formal language; e.g. suffix *-an* 'comparative adjective', suffix *-in* with a variety of transitivizing functions where the standard language has two other suffixes.

Syntactically, informal style is marked by greater use of predicate subject word order, for certain kinds of sentences (this may, however, just be a mark of conversational as opposed to written Indonesian); also greater use of sentences consisting of topic plus equational sentence, nominalization of verbs, and certain possessive constructions.

It is possible to make a further subdivision within informal style which speakers are aware of: certain features are marked as Jakartanisms and others are marked as simply informal but not limited to Jakarta.

There are two explanations for this. Some features of informal Indonesian are shared by both Jakarta Malay and by Javanese, for example, so that these features are not so clearly marked as distinctively Jakartan. Other features are very widespread, and are also not identified as Jakartan. The remaining features on the other hand are still easily identified as Jakartan. An example of the latter is the suffix *-in*.

To what extent and for what purposes is this informal style used in the Indonesian press today? To attempt to answer this I went through a large number of recent issues of 17 newspapers (dating from about 1968-1973). Most of these are dailies published in Jakarta--some also had special weekend editions which differed greatly in editorial content from the weekday papers. I admit that this sample is somewhat restricted in that only three were provincial papers, and they had much less use of the kind of informal language which I have been describing. The remaining newspapers, however, give a representative sample of the most influential national press, which for the most part emanates from the capitol of the country.

Some of the papers I looked at have almost no use of informal language. This is obviously an editorial policy since these papers have many of the same types of stories and articles as papers which do make use of informal style. These papers, I suspect, are those which wish to project a more serious image of themselves, e.g. those backed by such institutions as the Indonesian Army, *Angkatan Bersenjata,* and *Duta Masjarakat* which is the paper of the orthodox Muslim party, *Nahdatul Ulama,* or papers in which no criticism of the government is allowed.

There are also certain subjects or areas of news in which informal language is almost never used: international news and serious national reporting, so that the main items on the first page of all the papers (excepting weekend editions) are entirely formal. Editorials (usually on the second page), sports (on the third page), and advertisements and announcements, both of the personal and of the commercial kind, are almost always formal. Finally, serious analysis--political, economic, social, literary, artistic, and scientific, is strictly formal in style. Such analyses take the form of signed articles and are usually straight didactic essays on one subject. As we'll see later other types of analyses make greater use of informal style.

What is left then for *informal* Indonesian? A common use of isolated informalisms is in the headlines of news items which are more of the human interest type, particularly if these items have to do with the seamier side of life in the big city--crime, sex, scandals (both social and political), the problems of the urban poor, and problems of daily life in the cities. Since these are news items, however, the text of the story is almost always much more formal than the headline, except for an occasional informal word, often in quotation marks. I suspect that the purpose of informal language in the headline is to attract the reader's attention.

Informality in the body of news items tends to occur only in the conversations of lower class people who are believed, probably correctly, to be unable to use more formal language under any circumstances. Examples are quotations from an old newspaper vendor, soldiers of low rank performing menial jobs and pupils in a special school for juvenile delinquents. When such a person is being interviewed in a news item the interviewer's speech is frequently formal in contrast to the speech of the lower class interviewee. This is not obligatory, however, since the reporter may also ask his question informally and it is sometimes directly quoted as such or the person being interviewed may be quoted using formal sentences. In these cases it is hard to tell whether the quotes are exact representations of speech or whether the reporter has kept the meaning but changed the style. On the other hand, when upper class or educated persons are interviewed we can be sure that quotes actually represent the style they used. Informal conversation coming from such people (cabinet ministers, mayors, professors, etc.) reflect the uses of this style which we will see below.

The major use of informal Indonesian is in those parts of the paper which are not news items.

Since weekend editions have more such non news items it isn't surprising that they have many more pieces written in informal language. For example, *Yudha Minggu*, the weekend edition of *Berita Yudha* regularly has about 10 such "features" containing various degrees of informality.

Cartoons--political or just jokes--are almost always marked by some informal elements. Humorous fiction or anecdotes are also usually in this style--these include ones sent in by readers about amusing incidents that have happened to them, and some stories for and about children, and about the day to day problems of Jakarta's lower classes. Many of the latter such as *Gado2 Betawi*, and *Gambang Jakarté*, are regular features and have been around for a long time. Some even have been collected and published in book form, a proof of their popularity. Other series are about or for teenagers or children. Some of these are regular features of particular papers, e.g. one called, in English, in which the conversational parts are entirely informal. If such stories, however, are meant to have a serious moral or are fairy tales, they are usually formal in style. The same is true of non-humorous fiction such as love stories, and moralistic tales.

Short fillers of various kinds are usually informal if the subject matter is humorous or if the writer views it as not serious or satirical. This is also true of columns directed at the readership, e.g. a humorous caption on a photograph taken at random on the street. The person photographed is asked to come to the paper's office.

Another column written in informal style consists of sophomoric jokes about "guys and gals"; another has joking responses to reader's letters; still another has humorous definitions of words which poke fun at contemporary Indonesian personalities or problems. Another is in the verse form known as pantun--instead of the usual love poetry, however, the contents are nasty comments on current events. Another is in the form of a conversation between two people--and contains cynical comments on problems such as food shortages and government red tape.

I mentioned earlier that scientific or artistic analysis is normally formal in style. Exceptions to this can be found in analyses which pretend to be answers to questions asked by the uneducated. Of course it always turns out that when the village chief or the urban worker can't understand the reasons for some problem, the explanation or analysis shows up poor planning, corruption, red tape, government stupidity, and, in general, the comprehensible actions of the powerful for which the poor have to suffer. The questioning part of such articles is informal while the analysis part (often sarcastic in tone) is serious or mock serious and may or may not be formal. Some examples are: water pipes lying uselessly in the port while cities need water; red tape in getting a pension increase; a village chief asks embarrassing questions about the five year plan and is told just to follow orders. On the other hand, if the writer obviously feels sympathy for those involved, the style is usually completely formal, e.g. an article on corruption at the village level which is sympathetic to the village chief who needs the money badly; or a serious letter from old people in the village to their son who is now a general.

Articles which simply describe some local situation, problem or aspect of Jakarta life are normally formal in style if they are meant as straightforward reporting--e.g. a series on various types of work in the city, or problems of public transportation. If, on the other hand, the articles are strongly critical or include a humorous comment on human nature or on Indonesian character it is likely to have informal elements, e.g. a story on how noone wants to pay his radio tax.

The last area that I want to discuss is known as the *pojok*, literally, "the corner." It exists in almost every newspaper and apparently goes back to at least the 1930's. These usually consist of a number of short comments on current events or personalities and are usually boxed off in a corner of the paper. They are often the most popular part of the paper and some are excerpted and reprinted in the weekend editions of other newspapers. They have titles like: Coffee shop, Sharp Pebbles, Passing by, At the side of the road, the crusher, or Ya don't have to, and are signed by a title meaning older brother or older man plus a name with a humorous meaning such as Touch lightly, Annoying, Aim at, and stroll around.

In some papers the *pojok* is merely another editorial comment on the news and is formal in style. These are usually not funny or cynical. In the Armed Forces paper, for example, the *pojok* consists of patriotic messages or orders to do something or other for the national good.

On the other hand, the most popular *pojok* are those which consist of humorous, cynical or sarcastic remarks on current events and personalities. If the paper allows any use of informal language this is the place it appears, even if nowhere else. Some examples of topics out of the hundreds I looked at are: big shots as opposed to the people; food shortages; no jobs after graduation; ordinary people's lack of money for the celebration at the end of the Muslim fasting month; fixing the streets; late opening of government offices; gambling on the streets; general so-and-so did such-and-such. It is much rarer for the *Pojok* to be uncritical, if it is written in informal style.

In summary, I think there are four dimensions to the use of informal language in the Indonesian press:

1) It is national or local--foreigners don't use it and it is usually inappropriate for international events.

2) It is humorous or at least not serious. Some subjects may be handled with either style depending on the writer's attitude. For example, an article on the problems of the pedicabs in Jakarta can be viewed as a serious question of public transportation, traffic jams, poverty, etc. or it may be viewed as

the trials/tribulations/anecdotes/misadventures/and semi-illegal activities of the pedicab driver. The style itself is a clue to the reader to how he is expected to react to the story.

3) In pieces about or for groups that are expected to use mainly informal language in their speech--the urban working class, the young--children and teenagers within the peer group, and to a lesser extent the rural population. The criterion of seriousness, however, may override the subject matter for these groups.

4) Criticism, particularly of superiors. As we've seen, this may take a number of forms: fictionalized accounts of daily life; comments in the *pojok;* questions and analysis; made up conversations; and cartoons, to name a few. Given the strong social disapproval in Indonesian culture of overt criticism, public displays of emotion and public arguments, the use of informal language for such purposes is a socially accepted way of expressing criticism or anger about the government, the nation, and important individuals. The pretence, I guess, is that such criticism is either humorous or only indirectly comes from an identifiable source and only indirectly hits its target.

I think that these same factors determine the use of informal *speech* but that there are other ones as well--e.g. the relationship of speaker and addressee and the social setting of the speech. However, as I said before, much more research needs to be done in this area.

SOCIAL STRATIFICATION IN THE STRUCTURE OF HINDI

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I. INTRODUCTION:

Every society has some degree of stratification based on inequities among social groupings as a response to its ecological setting. Society in India is no exception. In a traditional society like in India, stratification is much more pronounced. Several factors like ritualism, sacredness, economics, politics and various aspects of world view tend to reinforce the basic stratification provided by the caste system in India. This basic system of hierarchy has also been claimed to have adapted remarkably well to modernization processes like eduction, industrialization, labour deployment, British style governmental bureaucracy and armed forces machinery, to name just a few among others. Even after two and a half decades of independence during which innovative programmes to modernize Indian society have been undertaken, the society in India remains highly stratified. In fact, everything that has been introduced to reform the case system in India has been absorbed in and adapted to the cultural theme of social stratification.

All communication goes on within this context of social hierarchy in India. Every interpersonal interaction, as it were, appears to be a manipulation of social statuses of the persons involved.

As far as it can be visualized, language is the most prominent means of communication in Indian society. People in India like to talk regardless of the setting which may either be an urbanized western style drawing room of a well to do executive or a dusty village square under the banyan tree with the backdrop of a setting sun. In a relatively genuine traditional setting, overt symbols like appearance, dress, facial expressions, way of speaking, language dialect, etc. would carry status differentiation properly among the interlocuters. However, with a general and increasing distaste for overt display of status symbols among urbanized individuals, language has come to play a more prominent role in interpersonal interaction vis-a-vis status communication. Consequently overt symbols have come to be de-emphasized. With much of the burden of status communication falling on language, the linguistic code occupies a very important, infact the most important, place in any communicative event.

Naturally, if language has to do an adequate job of communicating status of the persons involved, it must have adequate machinery to do so as part of its grammatical structure. Since language with its finite apparatus seeks to represent the totality of a much wider experience, i.e. the cultural experience, logically there can not be any isomorphic (one-to-one) relationship between the linguistic and cultural elements. Linguistic categories must generalize over a variety of cultural categories in order to be efficient and economical. This relativity between linguistic and cultural categories has been a topic of discussion from Boas to the modern socio-linguist. Consequently, more than one cultural category will have to be conveyed by a single category of linguistic structure.

In a traditional society like India, stratification in society interjects in every interpersonal communication. Consequently, it is imperative that more than one facet of the language system be able to play a role in status communication. It can be conjectured safely here that the more numerous such facets are, the better integrated and suitable the linguistic code will be in the setting of a communicative event. There is a distinct possibility in such a case that categories which primarily are not meant to convey social distinctions may be superimposed with such a function to give the speaker a greater flexibility in status communication. Besides, this kind of superimposed function saves the system from being cumbersome which it will be if it were to create new categories for every situation that comes about. Infact, it is these adapted categories for the purpose of status communication which may carry the bulk of the functional load in this regard. These are the aspects of <u>covert</u> linguistic structure which form topic of discussion for another paper.

In this paper, only <u>overt</u> markers of status have been discussed. By an overt marker is meant something in the phonetic or semantic structure of a formative which is there specifically to communicate status. It is also implied that the overt marker may be present in a formative semantically and may be overtly marked phonetically elsewhere in the sentence. However, the crucial test of an overt marker is that somewhere in a sentence, the status must have a surface phonetic marking.

A word of caution is in order. When it is said that every interpersonal speech interaction manipulates statuses, it is not meant that the speech event is directly oriented toward expression of social distinctions. There may be any topic among thousands which the speech event is directed at. However, since persons involved in the speech event have relatively distinct social statuses, the speech event must be executed so that the statuses of interlocuters are not transgressed. It is this requirement of a social nature that limits the choice of linguistic elements and structures so that the social statuses get communicated any way, whether the interlocuters are targetting at it or not. It is only in this sense that every speech event is visualized to involve status manipulation.

II. OVERT STATUS MARKERS:

A. II Person Pronouns:

Status marking is nowhere so apparent as in Second Person pronouns in Hindi. The speaker is provided with three pronouns differentiated in terms of status of the addressee.

/tu/:

This is the pronoun applied to an addressee who is either far below the status level of the addressor on account of age or other ranking factors such as knowledge, caste, official status, etc., or of almost the same age and well acquainted so that keeping any social distance between the two does not make any sense. We will call this pronoun [+ interior] on a binary parameter [± inferior].

/tum/:

This is the pronoun which is used most commonly for the addressee when a closeness of relation exists between him and the addressor so as not to warrant keeping much formality between the two but which at the same time does not warrant sounding too intimate either. This is the pronoun which with great majority of speakers totally replaces /tu/ in all the cases, so much so that /tu/ for many speakers has become a marker of substandard speech. It is interesting to note in this connection that Fairbanks and Misra in their book do not even mention it as though it is not part of the Hindi they want to teach their students. However, native Hindi grammarians invariably mention /tu/ as part of the pronominal paradigm with the remark that it is seldom used by speakers of standard Hindi.

/$\bar{a}$p/

This pronoun is used for an addressee who is of a superior status to the addressor and that there exists a formality between the two on account of either a definite knowledge on the speaker's part about the hearer's status. In the latter case, the speaker will use /$\bar{a}$p/ so that there will not be any risk involved of offending the hearer.

It is interesting to note at this point that there are some speakers, especially those belonging to or influenced by the Muslim culture so commonly found in the former princely states in North India, for whom even /tum/ does not exist, let alone /tu/. The only pronoun they use is /$\bar{a}$p/ even while speaking to their children which usually calls for the use of /tu/ or /tum/ elsewhere. This dialect can be called /$\bar{a}$p/ dialect.

There is another context in which /$\bar{a}$p/ is used. That is when the addressor is making a speech introducing a person or talking about him who is not present there or may even be dead. Usually in such a case a third person formal pronoun, which is the same as plural third person pronoun, is used. The speaker, in order to convey his thorough and hence intimate knowledge about the object person, may use a proximate third person plural /ye/ in the place of the remote third person plural /we/. By using /$\bar{a}$p/ the speaker is trying to convey even more thorough knowledge of the object person as though, if the object person were present which is conveyed by using the II person /$\bar{a}$p/, the speaker would have said the same things in his face. In this sense /$\bar{a}$p/ belongs to a functional variety or dialect of formal speech making which is dictated by the functional context.

Taking note of the fact that for many speakers, especially of standard Hindi, /tu/ does not exist, a binary feature [$\pm$ superior] will be sufficient to account for /tum/ and /$\bar{a}$p/ which will be as follows.

/tum/ --> [- superior]

/$\bar{a}$p/ --> [+ superior]

Let us call this dialect /tum/ dialect. This is not to say that a speaker of this standard dialect of Hindi does not have the competence to use /tu/. Infact, he would not use this only in a particular social context, i.e. when the participants in a speech event all belong to the standard dialect group. If and when a speaker would use /tu/ in the social context of standard dialect speakers, it will be highly insulting. This is a classic case of dialect switching in order to put a lower status tag on the hearer. Normally, a person belonging to the standard dialect will use /tu/ for the hearer when for him the latter belongs to the substandard /tu/ dialect. Thereby the speaker is conveying the status of the hearer since substandard dialect situation marks the hearer as belonging to a substandard dialect which automatically marks him as belonging to a lower social class. Thus by dialect switching the speaker lowers the status of the hearer from what it is and the social meaning of rudeness or impoliteness is conveyed.

For those speakers whose Hindi has all three pronouns, we will have to have one additional feature [± inferior] so that the three will be marked distinctly.

$$/\text{tu}/ \rightarrow \begin{bmatrix} + \text{ inferior} \\ - \text{ superior} \end{bmatrix}$$

$$/\text{tum}/ \rightarrow \begin{bmatrix} - \text{ inferior} \\ - \text{ superior} \end{bmatrix}$$

$$/\bar{\text{a}}\text{p}/ \rightarrow \begin{bmatrix} - \text{ inferior} \\ + \text{ superior} \end{bmatrix}$$

Clearly, this /tu/ dialect is marked by having an extra rule as compared with non-/tu/ dialect. A fourth possibility $\begin{bmatrix} + \text{ inferior} \\ + \text{ superior} \end{bmatrix}$ exists theoretically which, however, will be disallowed in linguistic theory on account of its logical contradiction.

So far, we have noted three social dialects, namely /tu/ dialect, /tum/ dialect and /āp/ dialect. A native speaker has competence in all the three dialects although he may not use all of them. We have also noted a fourth variety which is not a social but a functional dialect. The above remarks apply to both male and female speakers.

B. Verb Imperative:

There is another area of Hindi structure where status manipulation is very transparent. That is the imperative inflection of Hindi verbs. The speaker uses an imperative when he verbalizes his thought on what the addressee has to do at the speaker's behest. Even more basic to the imperative mood is a presuppostion on the part of the addressor that the addressee is of a status which will not prevent him to do according to what the addressor will say. Thus there is a presupposition of hearer's obeyance on the part of the speaker. There is another demand made on the addressor when he is using an imperative. In Hindi, imperative paradigm is restricted to II person only. In this situation, the addressor is face to face with the addressee which requires that the addressor use a pronoun which will ascribe an exact status to the addressee which the addressee thinks he belongs to in general. Even if the addressor does not use a pronoun, the verb imperative has to have a distinctive marking representing one of the three statuses of the three II person pronouns respectively. Since there is an agreement between the subject and the verb, the II person pronouns and the verb imperatives reinforce each other with regard to social status. There is no way that an addressor can escape from the responsibility of ascribing a status to the addressee if he decides to use the imperative. Let us take the verb /dekh/ to exemplify this phenomenon in the following sentences. Status marking in a verb is characterized by two binary features, namely [± intimate] and [± formal].

1. tu dekh $\begin{bmatrix} +\text{ intimate} \\ -\text{ formal} \end{bmatrix}$

   you look (You) look.

2. tum dekho. ,, ,, $\begin{bmatrix} -\text{ intimate} \\ -\text{ formal} \end{bmatrix}$

3. āp dekhie. ,, ,, please. $\begin{bmatrix} -\text{ intimate} \\ +\text{ formal} \end{bmatrix}$

Besides these three, Hindi also provides an extra formal form of the imperative which is used with /āp/ and is a formation derived from the verb in 3 above. Let us call this form <u>extra-formal</u> as illustrated below.

4. āp dekhiega. (You) look very kindly.

Note that the meaning of these sentences can only be paraphrased here approximately since English does not have any status differentiation in either pronouns or verbs.

Thus taking the pronouns and the verb imperatives together, all the multiplicity of statuses in the society has been reduced to four linguistic categories of status in Hindi.

At this point it is important to discuss the relationship between superiority and inferiority, formality and intimacy and the meaning of politeness and rudeness. Formality and intimacy are verbal inflection in agreement with superiority and inferiority respectively. It is important to note that formality is not always politeness and intimacy is not always rudeness. In this respect, <u>social distance</u> is a very crucial term. Taking the speaker as the starting point, the social distance between himself and the hearer may be so great that the hearer may be totally unknown to the speaker. Unless there are other codes such as dress, language etc. which signify the status of the hearer, increase in social distance involves increase in formality since increase in social distance means less knowledge of the social standing of the hearer. The converse of this will be a decrease in social distance which will involve a decrease in formality since nearness in social terms will mean a greater amount of knowledge of the social standing of the hearer.

This can be best exemplified by taking examples from a social situation where social distances are most distinctly marked, i.e. kinship. Let us visualize that there is an ego whose father is Y. In a nuclear family this is the maximum distance but it is not as much as to be a total lack of knowledge about Y on the part of X. Nevertheless, since Y is much older in age, X will not have as much knowledge about Y as Y will have about his son X. Hence Y will address X informally while X will address Y in formal terms. The same relation will hold between X and Z, a brother 10 years older to X. However, a brother W who is only two or three years older or younger, both will have a greater amount of knowledge about each other and hence a relative intimacy will be called for between the two. This example also indicates that factors like age, knowledge,etc. are determinants of social distance.

What the speaker is required to do is to use an expression which is suitable to the status of the hearer. That is, as long as the social distance is properly observed by the speaker with regard to the hearer, the language can only be said to be properly used and there is no rudeness involved. In other words, structures appropriate to the social context are unmarked. Polite expressions are only a subcategory of unmarked expressions when a speaker of a lower status uses an expression appropriate for a hearer of a higher or unknown status. Only in this context polite expressions are also formal. Familiar expressions are another such subcategory of unmarked expressions when a speaker uses an expression appropriate to the status of a hearer who is either of a lower or an equal status. It is only in this context that a familiar expression is also non-formal. Expressions inappropriate for the social context where politeness is called for are rude, i.e. when a speaker uses a non-formal expression for a hearer of a higher status. Expressions inappropriate for a social context where familiarity is called for are sarcastic, i.e. when a speaker uses formal expression for a hearer of an equal or lower status.

Marked expressions have a social dimension to it. It is natural to assume that for a proper functioning of the society, the members must observe status conditions with regard to other individuals and groups in the society. Any violation of these social conditions in the cultural behaviour of its members is sure to cause friction and tension among the members. To that extent well being of that society is threatened. Marked expressions violate such social status conditions and hence are tension generating. In this sense, not much needs to be said since as social beings we know from our own experience that rude expressions are tension generating. However, loss of one's non-formal status may cause the hearer a tremendous amount of tension in a situation where he cherishes a non-formal status ascribed to him by the speaker. There seems to be a notion of degree of markedness involved here since intuitively it seems correct to assume that rudeness may generate much greater amount of tension than sarcastic statements.

C. Intonation:

As there are unmarked and marked structures with regard to status communication, there are also unmarked and marked ways of saying these expressions which will be subsumed herein under intonation. It is further natural to assume that unmarked expressions will be said with an unmarked intonation and the marked expressions will be said with a marked intonation. One component of the intonation is pitch contour. Imagine a context where the speaker is letting the hearer in his presence and is using the imperative construction with II person pronouns. The unmarked pitch contour will be as follows regardless of the status of the hearer.

```
    2  3        2 3 4       2 3 1
5.  tu ā.   OR tu ā.   OR  tu ā.     (You) come.
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6. tum āo. Same pitch contours as in 5

6. āp āie. Pitch contours 2 3 and 2 3 4.

Note that like the imperative verb inflection, pitch contours also agree with the status of the pronoun. The pitch contour 231 is restricted to non-formal expressions where as the other two contours are common to all three statuses. However, contour 2 3 4 is the most polite and is more likely to be used with /āp/ than others unless the speaker decides to use an extra amount of welcoming sentiment with the hearer.

It is also important that these pitch contours should be executed with a normal loudness of voice. Let us call this component *tone* and this is the second component of intonation. Even in everyday speech tone conveys the emotive aspect of intonation and this is exactly what it signifies in this context. Any variation from the normal loudness, i.e. either raising or lowering the tone, will convey rudeness, anger etc., which characterize marked expressions in our formulation above.

D. *Lexical Items*"

A lexicon of Hindi will have to include many items which are provided to a native speaker specifically to mark the status of the hearer. These form two subcategories, namely (i) *honorifics* and (ii) *endearers*. Both of them are address markers and can be used as independent words except those which are specified as affix. Honorifics include words like /sābab/, /mahāšay/, /mahoday/, /šrimān+ji/ etc., prefixes like /šri/, /šrimān/ etc. and suffixes like /-ji/. Endearers include such items as /betā/, /beti/ etc. which can be used as an independent word or as an adjunct following a proper noun. Honorifics must have a formal construction and endearers must have a non-formal construction. Again these are *unmarked* items if used in an appropriate construction since these, like imperative unmarked constructions above, are conducive to smooth interaction among the members of a community. These are illustrated as follows.

2 3
7. bete, tu ā.

8. bete, tum āo.

9. sāhab, āp āie.

Besides the pitch contour 2 3, contour 2 4 is also appropriate in this context. In 9, 2 4 will add an extra degree of formality and in 7 and 8 it will intensify endearment. It should also be noted that remarks on tone in the preceding section also apply to these examples.

In another category in the lexicon fall such items in Hindi which we will call derogators, such as /$\text{gad}^{h}\bar{a}$/, /$p\bar{a}ji$/, /ullu/ etc., all meaning 'dumb, stupid, or ass'. All items of abuse like /$s\bar{a}le$/, /$har\bar{a}mi$/ will also fall in this category. These items perform a social function exactly opposite to that of the honorifics and endearers and hence will be characterized as marked. Now, note the following sentences.

10.	$\text{gad}^{h}e$ bete, tu $\bar{a}$	Dumb son, (you) come.
11.	,, ,, tum $\bar{a}$o.	,,
12.	,, $s\bar{a}hab$, $\bar{a}p$ $\bar{a}ie$.	Dumb Sir, please (you) come.

Let it be noted that all the three sentences appear superficially acceptable. However, socially in its unmarked sense, 12 is totally unacceptable. Sentence 12 does not meet a total rejection at the first sight because /$\text{gad}^{h}\bar{a}$/ used as an adjective has the right phonetic shape for vocative. However, if one can be so stupid as to be called stupid on his face by the speaker, the speaker will never use the rest of the sentence as it is, which is in honorific and formal structure. Although the surface structure is correct, deep semantic constraints which will ultimately alter this construction are violated. Thus semantically, and this means socially as well here, 12 is deviant. In an unmarked sense 12 without "ass" is used for a person of a superior status to the speaker and a person of a superior status can not be called /gad$^{h}\bar{a}$/. This fact must be reflected in the grammar. This can be done by marked /gad$^{h}\bar{a}$/ as [+ inferior] and /s$\bar{a}$hab/ etc. will be marked as [+ superior]. This marking will make "ass" and the rest of the sentence totally contradictory and hence ungrammatical.

However, to many speakers 12 will sound quite acceptable given a suitable context, for example a speaker talking to a child or a young boy who may be his son. This situation calls for an informal construction, however. Use of a formal construction in an informal situation has been characterized as sarcastic and part of the marked category of expression. Given a proper context thus, an ungrammatical sentence becomes acceptable only as a marked construction since it violates the rules of social context.

Sentences 10 and 11 ar enot as offensive as 12 since both /gad$^{h}\bar{a}$/ and /bet$\bar{a}$/ will have a feature [+ inferior] and the rest of the constructions in both are informal. However, "ass" is a derogator and /bet$\bar{a}$/ is an endearer. This contradiction remains and to this extent, both 10 and 11 are deviant and hence ungrammatical. However, in a given context suitable to the expression, these sentences may sound acceptable to a native speaker, say, for example, a father speaking to a child who has done something very dumb. By adding "ass" to the endearer /bet$\bar{a}$/, the father has lowered the status of the child further from what it is and in this sense use of "ass" is inappropriate to the context and hence the marked characterization. The sentences, as they are, undoubtedly constitute a mild scolding and are from a social point of view tension generating. This is the third subcategory of marked expressions which we may call <u>demeaning</u>.

Note the following sentences in which /gad$^{h}\bar{a}$/ alone is used without any honorifics or endearers.

13. e gad^{h}e, (tu) id^{h}ar $\bar{a}$. Hey ass or stupid, come here.
14. ,, , (tum) id^{h}ar $\bar{a}$o. Intonation same as in 13.
15. o ,, , ($\bar{a}$p) id^{h}ar $\bar{a}$ie. ,,

In normal speech it is customary to delete pronouns with imperatives, hence they have been placed in parentheses. The vocative markers /e/ and /o/ also have been added along with the word /id^{h}ar/ so that a right impact is achieved. Also note the change in intonation pattern on the vocative portion. These sentences must be executed with a louder tone so that they are distinctly set apart from the endearing types.

Sentence 15 is outrageous since it violates the rules mentioned in connection with the sentence 12 above. Moreover, 15 can not even be acceptable in a marked sense since it violates even the social contextual conditions of marked expressions. There is absolutely no social context that can be called appropriate to this sentence. Sentence 14 is not quite all that anomalous as 15 is. Nevertheless, since /gad$^{h}\bar{a}$/ in the lexicon will be marked as [+ inferior] and the construction "tum $\bar{a}$o" is marked as [- intimate] in agreement with [- inferior], sentence 14 is anomalous. It should be noted at this point that nouns in the lexicon will be marked with only two sets of features, one $\begin{bmatrix} + \text{inferior} \\ - \text{superior} \end{bmatrix}$ and second $\begin{bmatrix} - \text{inferior} \\ + \text{superior} \end{bmatrix}$. Only when a substitute pronoun is used as a product of pronominalization that one more possibility is created, i.e. $\begin{bmatrix} - \text{inferior} \\ - \text{superior} \end{bmatrix}$ characterizing

/tum/. In order for pronominalization to be able to realize /tum/ at the surface structure, its features $\begin{bmatrix} -\text{ inferior} \\ -\text{ superior} \end{bmatrix}$ must be represented in the deep structure. In the case of /tu/ dialect we need an extra rule which will optionally allow the form /tum/. This rule can be formulated as follows.

Rule 1. [+ inferior] $\rightarrow$ [- inferior] / [- formal] optionally

Thus in an appropriate social context, the speaker will apply this rule and will realize /tum/ even in a sentence like 14. Nevertheless, it should not be forgotten that /gad$^{h}\bar{a}$/ is a derogator and has an marked intonation including both pitch contour and tone whereas the rest of the sentence has an unmarked intonation. Even if the rest of the sentence also had a marked intonation, /tum/ is still [- inferior], i.e. not the lowest status category, and "ass" further lowers the status of /tum/. In this sense, it is still a demeaning kind of marked construction. Sentence 13 is the most appropriate structure since it does not even have the problem involved in 14 where it is difficult to explain why would a speaker go into the trouble of calling the hearer /tum/ when he can call him /gad$^{h}\bar{a}$/ on his face, unless, of course, the speaker simply does not have /tu/ in his dialect. However, sentence 13 is still a marked expression since it is demeaning the hearer further from the status of /tu/ and this again is reinforced by intonation. There is no way that these two sentences, namely 13 and 14, could be said with the unmarked intonation of sentences 7 and 8 above. In sentences 13 and 14, intonation plays a prominent role in signalling markedness. From a social point of view, it is rather redundant to point out the insulting sting in 13 and 14 and their markedness can not be denied.

E. Status Number:

There is an inflection in Hindi which signifies both status and quantity of the noun or pronoun concerned. We will call the first status number and the latter quantitative number. Although nowhere mentioned before, all II person pronouns are marked for number. This is illustrated in the following two sets of examples.

16. tu jātā hai. You (sg.) go.

17 tum jāte ho. ,,

18. āp jāte hain. ,,

Note that in /hain/ the final nasal will be realized as nasalization at a lower phonetic level. The pronoun "you (sg.)" represents that numerically only one person is referred to. Compare this set to the following set of examples where nouns have been replaced for pronouns.

19. ladkā jātā hai. The boy goes.

20. ladke jāte hain. The boys go.

Comparing sentences 19 and 20 among themselves, it is apparent that the verb has to be marked for quantitative number in agreement with the quantitative number of the subject. Comparing sentences 16 and 18 among themselves, we find that the predicate verb phrases differ exactly in the same manner as in the case of 19 and 20. Note, however, that in 16 and 18 subjects differ only in status, not in their numerical quantity since as noted above the pronouns above signify numerically only one person in the first set of examples. The pronoun /tum/ also has the same inflection of the main verb, i.e. /jāte/, as is found for the quantitative number in 20. In this sense, it comes closer to /āp/ in terms of status. However, it has a special auxiliary /ho/ which is unique to it and is not shared by any other pronoun, let alone noun. It is this special auxiliary which marks the intermediate status of /tum/ between /tu/ and /āp/. Now if we recall our characterization of these pronouns in Section A (page 4) above, we can formulate the following rule.

Rule 2. [- intimate] --> [+ plural] / [   ] VERB.

Here [+ plural] is used to represent the phonetic inflection which is common to both the status and quantitative number. The rule implies that an intimate pronoun will be marked with the singular phonetic inflection in the verb i.e. [- plural]. The term "number" is deliberately used to signify commonness of phonetic inflection between status and quantity.

Status number in Hindi has also been extended to the III person pronoun which will be represented abstractly as /w-/. It is /wah/, later phonetically realized as /wo/, if it is marked as non-superior. It is /we/ if it is marked as superior. Note that this is exactly the same inflection which marks the quantitative number, i.e. /wah/ in singular and/we/ in plural. Note the following sentences.

21. wah jātā hai. He (non-superior) goes.

22. we jāte hain. He (superior) goes.

Sentence 22 is ambiguous if taken out of context since it can mean also "They go".

A similar possibility exists also in the case of I person pronouns that the singular /main/ is always used as non-superior whereas the plural /ham/ can be used as superior. It is not uncommon to find a superior person referring to himself as /ham/ in the presence of an inferior person whereas the inferior person referring to himself as /main/ in the presence of his superior. It will be construed as polite or informal if the superior refers to himself as /main/ instead of /ham/. However, if the inferior person uses /ham/ for himself in the presence of his superior, he will be dubbed as immodest if not outright arrogant.

It is clear from the above discussion that number, both quantitative and status, must be marked in the deep structure. It is fortunate that the singular number is always quantitatively singular and status-wise inferior in the case of pronouns. However, in the case of plural number pronouns, the situation in the case of plural pronouns signifying both a quantitative plural and a formal status which could imply both singular and plural quantitatively is complicated and ambiguous enough to motivate the speakers to do something about it so that the situation is brought under control. It is with this purpose in mind that we find /log/ as a distinctly quantitative plural marker used with the so called status plurals, like /tum/, /āp/, /ham/, /we/ and also with unmarked plural nouns like /ādmi/ etc. which do not show any phonetic difference in plural.

It has been suggested above (page 16) that in order for the pronominalization transformation to give a correct output from the point of view of status, [+ human] nouns must be marked for status in the lexicon with the addition of Rule 1. What kind of markings of socio-cultural nature is required in the lexicon for such human nouns in order to generate a proper status for these nouns will be examined directly below.

It is not sufficient by itself that human nouns be marked for status. Whenever a noun is so marked, it will also have to be marked with regard to which other noun or nouns it has that status. This will make the lexicon extremely complicated since each item will have a status marking followed by some kind of a numerical code or serial numbers representing each noun with regard to which the former noun has that particular status. This is no better than listing and as such does not reflect the competence of a native speaker to determine the status and to change it, according to some predetermined rules, when the situation in the society demands that he do so. If the grammar is really to reflect the competence of a native speaker in its totality, his competence for ranking human nouns in the lexicon from a status point of view can not be disregarded and left out of a linguistic description.

In the opening paragraph of Section D (page 13), we have discussed honorifics like /sāhab/ and /-ji/ which are overt markers of status. For the most part, these two markers are in a complementary distribution in the following manner, suffix /-ji/ going with the titles borrowed from Sanskrit and /sahab/ going with the titles borrowed from non-Sanskrit sources. Within non-Sanskrit sources are included mainly Persian, Arabic, and English. With last names, there is an increasing tendency to use both. This tendency is also on the increase with official bureaucratic titles. Normally, we would expect to find /mantriji/ "Minister, Sir" and /sekretari sāhab/

"Secretary Sir". However, we may find occasionally/mantri sāhab/ and /sekretariji/ also. Both of these will be marked [+ formal]. There also must be a condition that these would be added to nouns which are formal. This condition is formulated in the following manner.

Rule 3. Suffix - [+ formal] / $[\text{+ title}]_{\text{N(oun)}}$ + ______

This brings us to the marking of status in the matrix of human nouns. Titles form a subcategory of nouns since these must be set apart from the non-title nouns since honorifics are added to title nouns, not to the non-title nouns like /ladkā/. It is interesting to subcategorize proper nouns as a subcategory of title nouns since they also are capable of taking honorifics but they can not be pluralized quantitatively. If we take a few examples of surnames from Hindi like /šarmā/, /guptā/, /šuklā/, /mišrā/, /tiwāri/, etc., all these intuitively sound quantitatively singular as though it is a title given to each individual in the family. One can say /panč mantri/ but not /panč guptā/. Interestingly enough, a comparison with Marathi surnames clinches the point. Marathi surnames like /kāwale/, /cānde/, /k^{h}okale/, /hire/, /kāte/, /kāle/ etc are decidedly plural forms of Marathi masculine singular words /kāwalā/, /cāndā/, /k^{h}okalā/, /hirā/, /kātā/, /kālā/ etc. respectively which mean "crow". "name of a town", "cough", "diamond", "thorn" and "black" in that order. These identify the whole family as a group with this plural. The Hindi surnames also seem to be masculine nouns since it is very common for male speakers to use surname as a term of address in singular for another male subject. However, females use for other female speakers first name with or without surname or use some circumlocution like /X ki mān/ "X's mother" or add /-ji/ with the surname. Of course, an urbanized female speaker has available to her words like /mistar/ "Mr." and /misez/ "Mrs." to her to be used with surnames.

In the above paragraph, we have taken examples of proper title nouns from surnames. However, first names also belong to this category of nouns. When a speaker, either male or female, uses a first name it is most often in singular, i.e. non-formal. A hearer is addressed by his first name only by a superior or equal person. Although they are non-formal, they are, nevertheless, title nouns since honorifics can be added to them, in which case they become formal and status plural is used with them.

Among non-proper title nouns, not all of them are marked as formal. Depending upon what rank the speaker occupies in the hierarchy of these titles, the speaker will use formal construction only with those titles which are superior or equal to his own. Thus for example, /mantri/ is such a high rank that it will be always formal unless the speaker wants to show contempt for it.

For our purose here of generating the right status markers, we formulate the generalizations reached so far in the following manner.

Rule 4. N $\longrightarrow$ [+ num, $\pm$title, + rank, + status]

This rule will set apart nouns from other major classes like verb, adjectives, adverbs etc. by being able to take quantitative number, rank and status marking. In the case of adjectives and nouns these markings will be generated transformationally by agreement with relevant nouns in the sentence structure.

Rule 5. [+ num] --> [± ag]

This rule specifies quantitative number as singular and plural.

Rule 6. [+ title] --> [± proper]

Rule 7. [+ proper] --> [+ eg] / $\overline{[+\ \text{title}]}$

This rule will restrict proper title nouns to singular number only. Note that nonproper title nouns and nontitle nouns will have both the numbers by Rule 4 above.

Rule 8. [+ proper] --> [± first]

This rule further subclassifies proper nouns as first names and last names.

Rule 9. [+ rank] --> [± inferior, ± superior]

This rule will give three subcategories of rank which are the same as specified above (page 6) for II person pronouns /tu/, /tum/ and /āp/. In terms of ranking of the hearer with respect to the speaker, Rule 9 will give three ranks, namely (1) lower marked as $\begin{bmatrix}+\ \text{inferior}\\ -\ \text{superior}\end{bmatrix}$, (2) equal marked as [- inferior, - superior] and (3) higher marked as [- inferior, + superior]. However, in the dictionary nouns will have markings only for higher and lower ranking with respect to other nouns.

Rule 10. [+ status] --> [± intimate, ± formal]

This rule will give exactly the three categories that we have in II person pronouns.

The categorizaiton of ranks and status so far gives the feeling of one to one matching, i.e. superior will be formal and inferior will be intimate. This for the most part is true. Even in the case of an equal rank, the status will be decided by these same markings. Note, however, that two nouns can be of an equal rank if and only if they have the same properties which amounts to saying that a noun such as /mantri/ can be equal to itself. Even in a case like this, when one minister is talking to another minister, their reference to each other will be decided not by their equal status in fact but by the marking for higher rank in the dictionary unless they are boyhood chums in which case they will not be addressing as belonging to a particular rank of /mantri/ but as /dosta/ or /mitra/ meaning "friend." This generalization is formulated in the following manner.

Rule 11. $[\text{u formal}] \dashrightarrow [-\alpha\ \text{formal}] \ / \ \left[\begin{array}{c} \overline{\text{+title}} \\ \left\{\begin{array}{c} \left[\begin{array}{l} \text{-proper} \\ \alpha\text{inferior} \end{array}\right] \\ \left[\begin{array}{l} \text{+proper} \\ \alpha\text{first} \end{array}\right] \end{array}\right\} \end{array}\right]$

This rule has been set in markedness convention since violation of this rule will generate a marked structure which will be rude etc. This rule will apply only to title nouns. Among these non-proper superior nouns like /mantri/ etc. and last name proper nouns like /guptā/ etc. will be formal. Similarly, nonproper inferior nouns like /caparāsi/ "orderly, peon" and first name peoper nouns will be nonformal. However, sentences such as the following are very commonly found.

23. guptā jātā hai.

24. dineš(ji)jāte hain.

Sentence 23 is used only between two intimate friends. In this situation, first name is called for. By using last name nonformally, he is demeaning it and bringing it to the level of the first name. However, since they are on intimate terms, this insulting attitude reinforces their intimacy. Sociologically, it is not an uncommon behaviour when an emotion is expressed intensely by doing exactly the opposite of it, for example expression of love by fighting. Nevertheless, linguistically, 23 remains marked. Sentence 24 will be used, on the other hand, when there is a formality between the two persons. Needless to say, address or reference by the last name is called for in such a situation. However, 24 will be used with the suffix /-ji/ more often than not. Note that Rule 3 above adds it to nouns marked as [+title]. Another way of formulating it will be through a transformation. Rule 11 marks first names as non-formal. Let /-ji/ come from an underlying structure in which the last name is present. Being apparent from the context which /dineš/ is meant, last name such as /guptā/ has been deleted. The speaker in such a case does feel that using first name nonformally will be rude and using last name formally will be too formal. Hence he introduces a slight degree of markedness deliberately to strike a golden mean. Nevertheless, the fact remains that 24 is marked to a certain degree, i.e. it is formal and first names are not.

Rule 12. [-title] ---→ [-formal]

This rule will specify nontitle nouns as nonformal, i.e. they can not take honorifics with them. Mostly generic human nouns will fall in this category, for example, /laḍkā/, /ādmi/ etc.

III. CULTURAL COMPONENT:

So far we have postulated certain categories of human nouns and formulated a set of rules which generate status. In doing so, we have taken as given the categories yielded by the features [±inferior] and [±superior]. However, any native knows that these categories themselves are generated by certain higher level cultural principles. Just a cursory look at the kinship terminology can tell many such rules which are based on generation, age, sex individually and/or combinatorially. Within the limit of this paper, giving rules of ranking for kinship terms is impractical since it is a topic of a paper by itself. However, we will examine some more nouns which will throw light on the topic. If the ranking features can be predicted on the basis of other semantic features already present in the matrix of a noun in the lexicon, we will simplify the dictionary and introduce an organization in the feature complexes which will go far deeper than the notion of semantic features visualized so far. This set of rules will have to be, of necessity, cultural. We will call this component "Cultural Component."

We have noted that nontitle nouns are nonformal and these are mostly generic nouns like /lakḍā/ "boy", /laḍki/ "girl", /baccā/ "child" (male), /bacci/ "child" (female), /ādmi/ "man", /aurat/ "woman" etc. However, the words for boy, girl and child are also title words. They are all ranked as inferior. Note that they are all junior in age. The words o a rank senior in age are /būḍ^{h}ā/, /buzurg/ or /baḍā/ all of which mean "elder." These are all superior in rank and hence formal. Thus the following two sentences will be readily acceptable.

25. ladka jata hai.

26. būḍ^{h}e OR buzurg jāte hain.

The following rule will capture this generalization.

Rule 13. $[u \text{ superior}] \dashrightarrow [\alpha \text{ superior}] \; / \; \begin{bmatrix} +\text{title} \\ \alpha \text{age} \end{bmatrix}$

In this rule superiority and inferiority are represented by plus and minus age respectively. Any deviation from this rule will yield a marked construction and hence inappropriate in the social context. With regard to /ādmi/, the lexicon does provide formal title nouns like /janāb/, and /sajjan/ meaning "gentleman." They are marked as superior in the lexicon so that their occurrence in a nonformal expression is ungrammatical as in the following starred sentence.

27.* ek janāb/sajjan jātā hai.

In this respect /sāhab/, compared with, /mahāšay/ presents an interesting study. The latter must be formal as in 28 below.

28. ek mahāšay jāte hain.

Any informal use of it is ungrammatical as in 29 below.

29.* ek mahāšay jātā hai.

Although /sāhab/ is formal, but it is so only in an unmarked sense. It can be used in an informal manner in a marked sense. Take for example the following sentences.

30. ek gorā sāhab jātā hai.

31. ek sāhab jātā hai.

Clearly they are not ungrammatical. Sentence 30 refers to a white man with scorn. Sentence 31 most probably refers to a native who is in the habit of behaving like a white man. Apparently, the distinction lies in the fact of /sāhab/ being a non-native item and /mahāšay/ a native item. This usage recapitulates the historical past when Persian-Arabic and English cultures intruded upon the native Sanskritic culture. The former two inspite of being the cultures of the rulers nevertheless were looked down upon by the natives. This attitude has found its way into the synchronic grammar of Hindi. A rule of the following sort will capture this generalization.

Rule 14. $[u\ \text{superior}] \dashrightarrow [\alpha\ \text{superior}] \ / \ \begin{bmatrix} \overline{+\text{title}} \\ \alpha\ \text{native} \end{bmatrix}$

We have noted the exception of /janāb/ to this rule.

Feminine nouns are even more interesting in this respect. Take for example the non-native word /aurat/ and the Sanskritic word /stri/ both meaning "woman." No doubt, both the words have [+inferior] marking in the lexicon. However, the Sanskritic word /stri/ seems to convey a little more respectability than the non-native word /aurat/. The following examples will illustrate the point.

32.	ek ganvār aurat jāti hai.	A foolish woman goes.
33.	ek ganvār stri jāti hai.	Same as 32
34.	ek murkh stri jāti hai.	Same as 32
35.	ek aurat bartan sāp^h karti hai.	A woman cleans pots.
36.	ek stri bartan sāph karti hai.	Same as 35

Increasing serial numbers also show increase in respectability in 32-34 and 35-36 although all five sentences are non-formal expressions obligatorily.

The feminine counterpart of /sahab/ is /sahiba/ which will be used by an elite in the former Muslim states. It is always superior. However, more common words are /bāi-ji/ or /mahilā/ and /mem sāhab/, the former two being the native and Sanskritic respectively and the last one being non-native. The first /bāi-ji/ is invariably superior on account of the honorific suffix. However, /mahilā/ meaning "a respected lady" is both superior and inferior whichever the speaker wants to use. The word /mem sāhab/ has the same fate as /sāhab/. It is likely to be used most commonly for a westernized lady. In its unmarked sense, it is superior and takes a formal construction. However, it can be used in its marked sense sense derogatorily for a native lady showing off as fully westernized. In this sense it is used in a non-formal construction. Note however, no such derogatory sense is realized from even a non-formal use of the Sanskritic word /mahilā/. Here again the non-nativity of the noun makes it subject to the derogatory use.

There is another dimension involved if we compare the feminine Sanskritic or native words to the masculine words of the same origin. The masculine words are simply superior. However, the feminine word like /mahilā/ is both superior as well as inferior in its unmarked sense. Similarly, the masculine word /srimān/ "Mr." with or without the honorific /-ji/ is obligatorily formal. However, its feminine counterpart /srimati/ can both be in formal or non-formal. Infact, to make sure that it is definitively formal, the honorific /-ji/ will be added more often than not. Clearly, the culture places preminum on the sex of its adherents and males are more superior to the females in that culture.

The following conclusions emerge from the above discussion. For lack of any format for rules of this kind they are given descriptively below.

Rule 15 Native superior nouns can not be derogated.

Rule 16 Non-native superior nouns with one exception of /janāb/ can be derogated by using them as inferior.

Rule 17 Among the native and non-native words of inferior rank, the latter are relatively more inferior.

Rule 18 Between the masculine and feminine nouns of the same rank, the feminine nouns are more inferior and hence can be used non-formally even if they are marked superior in the lexicon.

There is one more interesting pair which opens up another cultural dimension in the lexicon, namely /vidyārthi/ "student" and /sikšak/ or /māsṭar/ "teacher." The former two are Sanskritic and the last one is a borrowing from English but now well assimilated into Hindi and it is, therefore, non-native. The first word is definitely inferior and the second one is definitely superior. Any other use is ungrammatical. A very deep seated cultural principle is at work here. Native culture places an unusually heavy premium on the possession of knowledge. The student does not have knowledge and is there to receive it from the teacher who is the giver of knowledge. Hence the former is inferior and the latter superior.

There is a very close relationship between knowledge and age. The word /guru/ now restricted in Hindi to the giver of knowledge also means in Sanskrit "older in age" or "elder." A person of higher age is superior to one of lower age since the former possesses what can be called a greater amount of "worldly wisdom," which is also a knowledge learned in the school of life and experience, as valuable as the one learned formally from a 'guru/. This can be captured by the following two rules.

Rule 19. [$<$age] --- [$<$ knowledge]

Rule 20. [+knowledge] --- [+superior]

Note that features such as [±age], [±knowledge] will have to be there in the lexicon as part of the semantic marking. It is realized that these rules are going to be revised with more analysis being available from the point of view of status communication from Hindi. At this point the purpose of these rules is to show that these deeper rules will be able to save features in the lexicon for human nouns.

The word /mastar/, however, being of a non-native origin can be derogated by using it as inferior in a marked construction. Note that for the counterpart native and Sanskritic words there is no marked construction possible. Sanskritic words like /ad^{h}yapak/ "teacher", /prad^{h}yapak/ "professor", /acarya/ "professor" etc. can not be derogated. However, /prop^{h}esar/ "professor" is non-native and can be derogated by using it as inferior. Thus it appears as though knowledge of native origin is more desirable than the knowledge of non-native origin. Hence the respective teachers thereof are also marked as superior and inferior respectively. These are all cultural principles which directly affect sentence structure and the options available for the speaker.

IV. SUMMARY, CONCLUSIONS AND PROJECTIONS:

The argument in this paper has been as follows. There are in Hindi human nouns and pronouns which are overtly marked by certain phonetic features for status. There are also items in the category of human nouns which are not marked by any such phonetic features in their own matrices but when used in a sentence they are marked for status by governing the phonetic inflection of the verb. In this sense they are overtly marked also although elsewhere in the sentence and indirectly at best. Instead of marking each item for status, status has been claimed to be predictable by rank of the item. The ranks superior of inferior have further been found predictable on the basis of cultural rules of ranking. This will introduce an organization into the predominantly listing nature of the lexicon and make the lexicon less expensive by predicting features relevant to status determination. For this reason a cultural component has been proposed which will embody these higher level cultural rules. Needless to say, what has been investigated in this paper is barely reaching the magnitude of the tip of the iceberg. There is a huge area which needs a thorough investigation with respect to status communication. It is logical to assume that there may be areas of lexicon other than human nouns which will add further cultural rules like the word for cow being superior that the word for ass and the word for white being superior to black and their respective consequences for the linguistically significant notion "sentence in Hindi". When cultural rules relevant to each such area of grammar will have formulated, in order to economize in these rules, probably some kind of organization based on rule ordering as in the case of Rules 19 and 20 above or on formal properties of rules such as of context-free, context-sensitive or transformational nature will have to be introduced. A complete grammar of a language thus will have a cultural component which will incorporate all the relevant cultural facts required for the generation of a sentence by the grammar and also to show in what ways a sentence may deviate from the grammatical sentence in the language L.

Such a cultural component also will throw light on the exact relationship between language and culture in more definite ways than it has been possible to show so far.

A formalism of markedness has been adopted to generate what has been called "social meaning" by Hymes and Giglioli. It is very true when

Giglioli feels that the way the present generative grammar is formulated, the speaker who internalizes such a grammar will prove to be nothing but a <u>cultural</u> <u>monster</u> since he will not know in which social context he should use a particular construction. By rank marking in the lexicon, the language forces the speaker to use a construction which matches with the ranking in the social situation. As noted above, for some items, any deviation from their rank marking generates ungrammatical sentences. However, there are items which used in a particular rank produce normal meaning which has been called unmarked and in a different rank they produce non-normal meaning called marked. The unmarked meaning is in keeping with the social context. The marked meaning deviates from the appropriate social context and is expressed by a grammatically acceptable but contextually inappropriate sentence. The marked constructions have been further classified as rude, sarcastic, demeaning and there can be more such categories and ways of characterizing these than so far visualized. This can be adopted as a formalism in the metatheory which will enable the grammar to account for "social meaning".

Another way that a speaker communicates status is by switching dialects. It appears as though every speaker knows more than one dialect each one of which is ranked with respect to the other. The items which carry "social meaning" are marked as superior or inferior according to the marking of rank for the dialect to which it belongs. What appears to have been called competence is in reality a multidialectal competence on the part of the native speaker. In this sense, Gumperz'es term 'verbal repertoire' is very useful if the linguistic theory restricts the term competence to one dialect. This can be accounted for if dialect markings like native-non-native, superior and inferior are incorporated into the matrices of relevant items and rules of their ranking are given.

It is of foremost importance to note that such rank distinctions overtly marked in the structure are there to serve specifically the function of status communication. To argue from a "psyche" point of view, the native speaker feels a compulsion as a cultural being of a specific kind to express social stratification distinctively and in practically every situation it is involved in interpersonal interaction. The speaker must put a tag of rank on the other participant or referent person. Therefore it is natural to hypothesize that clearly stratified societies will tend to develop overt social markings and less clearly stratified societies will tend to have lesser amount of overt social marking in the grammar. That is, the more of status communication will be done by covert marking. In this sense, Hindi is well integrated in the social context in which it is used.

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